DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 432 918 FL 025 934

AUTHOR	Lo Bianco, Joseph, Ed.; Liddicoat, Anthony J., Ed.; Crozet, Chantal, Ed.
TITLE	Striving for the Third Place: Intercultural Competence through Language Education.
INSTITUTION	Australian National Languages and Literacy Inst., Deakin.
ISBN	ISBN-1-875578-93-5
PUB DATE	1999-00-00
NOTE	191p.
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Collected Works - General (020)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC08 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Adult Education; Cultural Education; *Cultural Pluralism; Educational Policy; English (Second Language); Foreign Countries; Identification (Psychology); *Intercultural Communication; *International Education; International Relations; Interpersonal Communication; Language Attitudes; *Language Role; Peace; Public Policy; *Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; *Second Languages
IDENTIFIERS	Australia; Europe; France

ABSTRACT

Essays concerning second language teaching as a means of promoting intercultural competence include: "Intercultural Competence: From Language Policy to Language Education" (Chantal Crozet, Anthony J. Liddicoat, Joseph Lo Bianco); "Linguistic Diversity, Globalisation and Intercultural Education" (Jagdish Gundara); "French Linguistic and Cultural Politics Facing European Identity: Between Unity and Diversity" (Genevieve Zarate); "A 'Syntax of Peace'?" (Joseph Lo Bianco); "Language and Intercultural Competence" (Richard D. Lambert); "Global English for Global Citizens" (Michael Singh, Linda Singh); "Questions of Identity in Foreign Language Learning" (Michael Byram); "From 'Sympathetic' to 'Dialogic' Imagination: Cultural Study in the Foreign Language Classroom" (Jo Carr); "The Challenge of Intercultural Language Teaching: Engaging with Culture in the Classroom" (Chantal Crozet, Anthony J. Liddicoat); "Adult ESL: What Culture Do We Teach?" (Helen FitzGerald); "Teaching Conversation for Intercultural Competence" (Anne-Marie Barraja-Rohan); "Australian Perspectives on (Inter)national European Narratives" (Piera Carroli, Roger Hillman, Louise Maurer); "'Justification'--The Importance of Linguistic Action Patterns for the Success of Intercultural Communication" (Winfried Thielmann); and "Striving for the Third Place: Consequences and Implications" (Anthony J. Liddicoat, Chantal Crozet, Joseph Lo Bianco). (MSE)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED 432 918

STRIVING FOR THE THIRD PLACE

Intercultural Competence through Language Education

FL 025 934

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality
● Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy

PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE AND DISSEMINATE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY
Joseph Lo Bianco
TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)
1

Edited by

JOSEPH LO BIANCO, ANTHONY J. LIDDICOAT AND CHANTAL CROZET

LANGUAGE AUSTRALIA

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA

ERRATUM: Please note that the following sentence is the correct version for the first sentence in the last paragraph on page 62.

The fact that language is inextricably infused with culture in its deepest and widest forms does not result in guaranteed, inevitable, or automatic intercultural competence, empathy, capability or interest.

STRIVING FOR THE THIRD PLACE:

Intercultural Competence through Language Education

Edited by:
Joseph Lo Bianco
Anthony J. Liddicoat
Chantal Crozet

Language Australia
Melbourne
1999

Striving for The Third Place: Intercultural Competence through Language Education

Edited by
Joseph Lo Bianco
Anthony J. Liddicoat
Chantal Crozet

ISBN: 1 875578 93 5

© 1999. Language Australia, the National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia Ltd. Copyright in this document is owned by Language Australia Ltd. No parts may be reproduced by any process except with the written permission of Language Australia or in accordance with the provisions of the Copyright Act.

All enquiries in relation to this publication should be addressed to:
Publications and Clearinghouse Manager
Language Australia
GPO Box 372F
Melbourne VIC 3001

The views expressed in this publication are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of Language Australia Ltd.

Contents

List of contributors v

Acknowledgements vii

Introduction

Intercultural Competence: From Language Policy to Language Education
Chantal Crozet, Anthony J. Liddicoat & Joseph Lo Bianco 1

Part I – Intercultural Competence in Context

1 Linguistic Diversity, Globalisation and Intercultural Education
Jagdish Gundara 23

2 French Linguistic and Cultural Politics Facing European Identity: Between Unity and Diversity
Geneviève Zarate 43

3 A 'Syntax of Peace'?
Joseph Lo Bianco 51

4 Language and Intercultural Competence
Richard D. Lambert 65

5 Global English for Global Citizens
Michael Singh and Linda Singh 73

6 Questions of Identity in Foreign Language Learning
Michael Byram 91

Part II – Intercultural Competence in Practice

7 From 'Sympathetic' to 'Dialogic' Imagination:
Cultural Study in the Foreign Language Classroom
Jo Carr 103

8 The Challenge of Intercultural Language Teaching: Engaging with Culture in the Classroom
Chantal Crozet and Anthony J. Liddicoat 113

9 Adult ESL: What Culture Do We Teach?
Helen FitzGerald 127

10 Teaching Conversation for Intercultural Competence
Anne-Marie Barraja-Rohan 143

11 Australian Perspectives on (Inter)national European Narratives
Piera Carroli, Roger Hillman & Louise Maurer 155

12 'Justification' – the Importance of Linguistic Action Patterns for the Success of Intercultural Communication
Winfried Thielmann 167

Conclusion

Striving for The Third Place: Consequences and Implications
Anthony J. Liddicoat, Chantal Crozet & Joseph Lo Bianco 181

Contributors

Professor Joe Lo Bianco AM,
Chief Executive Language Australia; Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Education, University of Technology, Sydney; Professorial Fellow, Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne.

Dr Anthony J. Liddicoat
Department of Linguistics, and Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, Australian National University, Canberra.

Chantal Crozet
Language Australia; Visiting Fellow, Department of Linguistics, Australian National University, Canberra.

Dr Jagdish Gundara
International Centre for Intercultural Studies and Culture Communication and Societies, Institute of Education, University of London.

Dr Geneviève Zarate
Ecole Normale Supérieure Fontenay/Saint-Cloud, University Paris III 'Groupe Frontières Culturelles et Division des Langues' (France).

Dr Richard D. Lambert
National Foreign Language Center, Johns Hopkins University, Washington DC, USA.

Professor Michael Singh
Department of Language and International Studies, Department of Hospitality, Tourism and Leisure in the Faculty of Education, Language and Community Services at RMIT University, Melbourne.

Linda Singh
Frenchville State Preschool, Department of Education Queensland.

Dr Michael Byram
School of Education, University of Durham, UK.

Dr Jo Carr
Department of Language and Literacy Education, Queensland University of Technology.

Helen FitzGerald
Adult Migrant Education Program, Canberra Institute of Technology.

Anne-Marie Barraja Rohan
Department of Applied Linguistics, University of Melbourne.

Piera Carroli
Italian Program, Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, Australian National University.

Dr Louise Maurer
French Program, Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, Australian National University.

Dr Roger Hillman
German and Film Studies Program, Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, Australian National University.

Winfried Thielmann
German Program, Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, Australian National University.

Acknowledgements

We, the editors, wish to thank all the contributors for being able to meet the short deadlines for submission of their work. We also wish to thank *Dave Tout* our publisher at Language Australia for his hard work, *Gabrielle Markus* for her graphic design work on the cover of the book and her desktop publishing and *Bari Hall* for her assistance in proof-reading. Finally our gratitude goes to *Dianne Dean* for her encouragement and valuable comments.

Introduction

Intercultural Competence: from Language Policy to Language Education

Chantal Crozet, Anthony J. Liddicoat and Joseph Lo Bianco

Recently the issues of whether multilingualism is a necessary feature of multiculturalism[1], whether the teaching of language/culture contributes to intercultural harmony and what competencies are required for today's world have re-emerged in the current debates on multiculturalism, language education and globalisation. In this introduction we position these issues in a succinct form as a way of defining the general framework against which the contributors to this book develop their individual argument for the promotion of intercultural competence through the teaching of language and languages.

In section one: *Multilingualism and multiculturalism,* we argue that multiculturalism without multilingualism encouraged for all promotes a passive form of multiculturalism where tolerance rather than participation in 'otherness' tend to dominate. We introduce the notion of 'the third place' as the unbounded point of intersection where interactants from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds meet and communicate successfully. In section two: *Intercultural competency for globalisation,* we suggest that active multicultural societies/nations – where language education is highly valued – are better prepared for participation in global interculturalism on the world stage. In section three: *The teaching of culture in language education,* we propose that intercultural language teaching, the emerging new paradigm in foreign language education, represents the first significant shift in language teaching history towards the teaching of culture as an integral part of language. This shift needs to become more apparent and supported in language policy discourses. In section four: *Intercultural language teaching (ILT),* we describe the aim and mode of operation of ILT and how this approach to foreign language education prepares language learners to know how to negotiate comfortable third places between *the self* and the *other/the foreign.*

The rest of the introduction introduces the work of each contributor to the book stressing the links between chapters in parts one and two.

I – Multilingualism and Multiculturalism

The recognition of cultural diversity is at the heart of ideas about multiculturalism. However, in many cases, conceptions of cultural diversity do not recognise linguistic diversity as a necessary component in this. For example, in Australia, multicultural television (the Special Broadcasting Services channel, SBS) has increasingly moved from a focus on media services in community languages to mono-lingual multicultural television [Madina, 1995; Ozolins, 1993]. Although it can be argued, and there is no doubt that it is partly the case, that it is government cuts in the SBS budget which have forced the reduction of programs in foreign languages, the choice to cut this particular special service to the community is not innocent and cannot be solely attributed to a utilitarian orientation to national economy. Rather, it reflects a view, especially in the English-speaking world, that multiculturalism can exist in a monolingual environment and not only because it is conveniently cheaper. Joseph (1998:40) for example suggests that 'For present purposes what matters is that multiculturalism does not require multilingualism' and 'Logically too it must be possible for a monolingual to be multicultural, unless one is prepared to hold that no one can know a culture without speaking its language'. It seems to us that the position Joseph advocates leads all too readily to our becoming observers rather than participants in cultures other than our own, and to minimising the differences that exist because they are not evident to those who are linguistically removed from the 'other'. Even worse, however, being an observer often tends to invite ready judgment where empathy and understanding would be more appropriate. Of course being mono-lingual does not preclude appreciating cultural diversity; it does however greatly limit the entry the person has to the other culture's norms, views of itself and that space where it itself is natural and normal. The weakness of mono-lingual multiculturalism logistics lies in the belief that language and culture are not intimately related.

The end result of such a monolingual view of multiculturalism is that cultures are taken to be only the manifest and exteriorised phenomena that those who do not enter the new world view can observe. Such externalised participation in a multicultural society or world becomes a limited appreciation of expressive elements of culture such as food, dance, music or arts. Multiculturalism becomes a kind of voyeurism rather than direct experience, an aesthetic rather than a way of life. A corollary of this is the perception that multiculturalism is for others, for minorities, not for the society as a whole. A multicultural society, therefore comes to be seen as outside the experience of the dominant group and which has little relevance for it. Hage (1998:118-140) calls this from of passive multiculturalism, 'white multiculturalism' in which tolerant acceptance of otherness is lived at its best as 'unperturbing enrichment'.

In its new report on Australian multiculturalism[2] the National Multicultural Advisory Council to the Federal government has acknowledged the need 'to correct the misconception that it (multiculturalism) is concerned mainly with immigration and

---

2

minority ethnic communities' and stresses that multiculturalism is for all Australians '... whether born here or overseas and whether of English -or non-English-speaking origin'. As far as our argument is concerned, one of the main flaws of the report is not so much in its broad vision but in its lack of sufficient recognition of the importance of language education in the making of an inclusive form of multiculturalism.

The removal of languages from the purview of multicultural policy comes at the same time as the announcement by the second Howard government of its continuation and extension of funding for the National Asian Languages and Studies Strategy, a key initiative of the Keating government. The Asian languages funded under this scheme are four, each justified for its potential role in advancing Australia's trade and economic relations with key commercial markets. Unfortunately this signals that at least in the priority views of the federal government second and community language education are less important than teaching 'foreign' languages for assumed impacts on trade relationships, and indeed that the teaching of languages for intercultural education purposes is not well appreciated. Further indication of such thinking can be drawn from the funding patterns of the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs' *Living in Harmony* program in which an approach of multiculturalism without a central place for languages is reinforced. This regrettable pattern works against the current trends in languages education as indicated in the present volume

A view of multicuturalism which does not value language education (hence potential for intercultural competence for all), no matter how inclusive it claims to be, will not foster a multicultural society which can fully enjoy multiculturalism (ie. linguistic/cultural diversity for all) at home or on the world stage. The view of intercultural competence which emerges from mono-lingual multiculturalism is one which sees that such competence is really only relevant to those who are in some sense 'other'. It is a view which identifies a standard culture for the society, a kind of monolithic, unanalysed norm which tolerates diversity as though it were a condition of otherness. Dominant groups therefore often remove their cultural mores and values from participation in intercultural negotiation, believing them to be standards towards which minorities move rather than fluid systems which interact to produce new, hybrid combinations. It is also often the case that dominant cultures perceive cultural diversity as threatening, believing that nations must necessarily be founded on singular cultural attachments. From the perspective of the dominant group, their culture is not seen as relevant to multiculturalism, although it may be seen as threatened by multiculturalism. Distancing difference in this way removes it to the domain of commodity available for the consumption of élites within the dominant group, but separated from power to change either the symbolic capital of the nation, or its representations of itself.

These comments are equally relevant to globalisation in that both processes can become, for at least some participants, attempts to communicate in a context of diversity without direct experience of, or acknowledgement of, that diversity. When multiculturalism or globalisation are mediated through a single language, an interpretative frame is imposed on this mediation. For native speakers of this language, this interpretive frame is most likely unconscious and unanalysed. It may take the form of a set of assumptions about what is normal and also provide normative interpretations of the actions actually in progress. The cultural maps we hold in our minds to make sense of the world are tangible maps which we often mistake as immutable truths. To dislodge the apparent immutability of our cultural interpretations of the world requires a considerable effort. It requires both educating the mind to identify the cultural boundaries within which we operate and it requires the willingness to venture into the foreign and to potentially be changed by it. Language education – which adopts an *intercultural approach to language education* – is in a unique position to contribute substantially to this education of the mind. This in turn can potentially lead to openness and active participation in 'otherness'.

We are aware that it has often been claimed that language study, bilingualism or intercultural education lead to positive dispositions, regard, empathy and awareness in relation to others' ways of life. It is not our intention to suggest that even second language education framed by interculturalism in an explicit and systematic way leads *automatically* to such ends. We acknowledge that there are important material, structural and attitudinal constraints that prevent any such happy outcome being either automatic or guaranteed. However, it is our firm conviction that the persistence of socio-cultural goals in language education plans, without the explication of these goals into a robust theoretical position, is a neglect that language professionals can no longer tolerate. While we distance ourselves from beliefs about automatic consequences of improved attitudes towards others from language study, it is nonetheless clear that interculturally framed second language teaching offers learners a far richer possibility of direct, unmediated encounter with others, that, with good will and opportunity, they can utilise in explorations of human difference whose richness can only be appreciated by encounter and experience.

Attempts to educate people for multicultural interactions from within a monolingual framework have a tendency to provide the learners with a set of stereotypes about the other culture. Such education maintains the sense of the other and allows for interpretations of the cultural difference as recognisable deviations from one's own approach. One's own approach, however, remains both unanalysed and normative within such a framework. The participant in a multicultural interaction remains an external observer of difference.

The key to full participation in multicultural contexts involves a realisation of cultural and linguistic relativity. This can result only from acknowledgement and analysis of both the native culture and the target culture as they are mediated through language. This mediation through languages is a central element in that language itself constitutes an interpretive framework through which the social world is both analysed and created. Without a linguistic experience of difference, a cultural experience of difference cannot reach the same depths. Difference is the central aspect of intercultural communication and such difference must be lived in communication.

As such, an intercultural interaction is neither a question of maintaining one's own cultural frame nor of assimilating to one's interactant's cultural frame. It is rather a question of finding an intermediary place between these two positions – of adopting a third place. In so doing the participant in the interaction is an experiencer, not an observer, of difference. The ability to find this third place is at the core of intercultural competence. In order to adopt an intercultural position in interaction it is not necessary to learn all of the languages of one's potential interactants. The important learning which comes through the experience of difference through language comes through the analysis of one's own culture and the ways in which language mediates this culture. As Boon (1982: 22-26) pointed out : 'Culture materialises (through language) only in counterdistinction to another (language)/culture'.

The third place is therefore a point of interaction, hybridity and exploration. It is not accommodation -though many intercultural encounters, for various reasons are of this kind- but an encounter.

One of the most common experiences of difference is triggered when one's own culture encounters another's culture through mundane to more formal forms of interactions. This can vary greatly along a spectrum ranging from rejection of to fascination with the other culture. Cross-cultural encounters are in this sense dynamic processes whereby human beings succeed (or fail) at creating 'third places' enabling successful relationships to unfold both with and beyond cultural differences. De Sousa (1999:2) describes the possible experiences of cross-cultural encounters as ranging from a 'form of seduction or confrontation, discovery or recovery, desire or loathing, wonder or disillusionment, peace or war'.

In this chapter we redefine language education in more precise terms for the important role it has to play in preparing children and adults of a rapidly globalising world to know how to swing the pendulum of cross-cultural encounters towards the experience of enrichment, discovery, wonder, principled compromise rather than domination, and peace rather than confrontation and war; this in the private as well as public spheres.

II – Intercultural competency for globalisation

The interest in foregrounding the cultural domain within language education has also come from sources outside of applied linguistics. Applied linguistics, and especially language researchers and teachers, have come to regard language as a 'cultural act' and ordinary language, (that is 'language in use') random and defective in the way that some branches of linguistics, cultural and literary studies, and older forms of language teaching have relegated it. This interest from within the profession has received a massive boost from wider and perhaps unexpected sources.

The first of these is macro-context of multiculturalism. As Castles and Miller (1993) have shown we are in the midst of the greatest movement of populations of any time in history. All parts of the world and all strata of society are involved in the vast movements of people that will be judged by future historians as one of the defining features of the twentieth century. Among the many important effects of this is that multicultural and multilingual societies are inevitable everywhere. No part of the world will be immune from this. From the diversification of the populations of all societies emerges the need for intercultural understanding. Previously national education systems, and indeed foreign language teaching, assumed that education, and national language education in particular was solely concerned with inculcating a secure, uncontested national culture. This assumption is no longer reliable since many nations are defining themselves as multicultural. For these reasons curricula and language teaching programs aim to include among the languages that are offered languages spoken 'within' the national community, by minorities. For reasons of advancing intercultural communication and harmony language education programs are asked to serve these wider social goals. So in addition to 'grammar'/language *per se* these programs are now expected to enhance cultural relations and cultural understanding among fellow citizens.

However, even these international and national imperatives for addressing culture through language education are being strengthened by the wider global context. In recent years the term 'globalisation' has come to assume a strong prominence in economic and social discourse. Globalisation refers to the manifold ways in which the nations and populations of the world are becoming enmeshed in a single interconnected global system. A clear sign of this is the integration of financial markets. It is commonplace for all news programs to carry stock market reports from the major bourses of the world. We know that the performance of the Nikkei, the Hang Sen, the FTSI, and the Dow Jones are not matters of mere domestic concern to Japan, Hong Kong, London or New York, nor even to their national populations alone. Financial markets are so utterly enmeshed that economists, financial planners and business people speak of the 'borderless world' (Ohmae, 1994). They are so closely interconnected in fact that the Chaos Theory precept of the ecological connection of the world (a butterfly flapping its wings in one part of the world can set off an earthquake in a remotely distant part of the world) appears to be literally true for the stock markets. The sensitivity of financial markets is such that it becomes critically important knowledge to Australians, Japanese, Finns and Egyptians what the performance of the Dow Jones index implies.

Globalisation extends well beyond things financial. In other sectors of the economy we can readily identify the interdependence of the world: trade in goods and services has become global in reach; education is a commodity which is traded globally and in which language plays a critically determining role and trade pacts are negotiated to regulate these emerging systems. Tourism is a vast and growing industry, arguably the world's greatest industry, in which language and interpersonal encounters are a critically important variable in economic performance.

In the domain of culture, we note the rapidly emerging effects of the global exchange of entertainment, cinema, publication and music. At innumerable levels previously discrete systems of endeavour are being meshed into hybrid new varieties influenced by the instantaneous capacity for communication via the telecommunications revolution.

The supra-national organisations based initially solely on economic cooperation as exemplified by the European Union, are grappling towards cultural, social and even political forms of union.

Globalisation, here sketched very briefly, sustains the domestic multicultural imperative for language education to address interculturalism.

These two forces coincide with the evolution of concern among linguists and teachers that to make the outcomes of language teaching more effective the cultural question can not be left as an adjunct or second order priority. Within the very practices of communication we find not just the instantiation of the wider cultural grid that different languages express. We also find within the ordinary, the mundane, and the quotidian, the experience of culture that the vast majority of the users of any language take utterly for granted and naturalise as the 'normal' way to think, to do things and to be. It is often in the mundane that the greatest opportunity for conflict arises because we assume this to be unproblematic. Our conscious awareness focuses away from the ordinary towards the exceptional when we judge things as being cultural in character or origin. If we reflect on the meagre success of much foreign language education we would surely conclude that one of the main explanations is that the cultural domain, so critical to appropriate communication, so essential to effective communication, has been treated as either exotic to language teaching, or as 'high' culture and able to be taught apart from language.

III – The teaching of culture in language education

Understanding how the teaching of culture in language education has evolved gives us further insights into how we will come to view intercultural language teaching as the new paradigm in the decades to come.

Like approaches to language teaching, approaches to culture teaching have undergone change. Each change can be seen primarily as a reconceptualisation of culture and the role of culture in language teaching. These conceptualisations in turn have consequences for what 'cultural competence' can be seen to be in each paradigm. We have distinguished four paradigms in language teaching history, representative of various approaches to teaching culture:

- The traditional approach to teaching culture
- The 'Culture studies' approach
- The 'Culture as practices' approach
- Intercultural language teaching

1 The traditional approach to teaching culture

The most traditional paradigm for teaching culture as a part of modern language teaching can be seen in the teaching of literature. This is a view of culture as high culture only, and with an emphasis on culture as it is mediated through written language. Within this paradigm cultural competence, in foreign language education, is viewed as control of an established canon of literature, which can be measured in terms of the breadth of reading and knowledge about the literature. The model for the language learner in this paradigm are educated native speakers, who are presumed to control an identical canon of literature.

Traditionally, this paradigm also seems to be associated with a particular view of the nature of language learning. It is a view which harmonises with language learning as a goal in itself, often with minimal expectations of using the language for communication with native speakers. As such, it often has built into it an expectation that contact with the target language is most likely to come through written texts and primarily through literature.

The relationship between language and culture in such a paradigm may be quite tenuous. Culture is seen as residing primarily in the text itself, which is supported through the language of the text. The primacy of the text over the language leads to a view in which much of the valued cultural knowledge can be obtained from the text, even in translation, with knowledge of the original language serving to give a deeper appreciation of the text and the artistry of the text. The relationship between culture and the text may also be limited in such a model, with culture learning coming in terms of knowing a valued text, rather than viewing the text as a window onto broader aspects of culture. In many cases, the text may be tied to an earlier period of the language and culture of the target group, such as the works of Shakespeare in English or Ronsard in French, one to which native speakers themselves may have little access except through formal education.

2 The 'Culture studies' approach

This previous paradigm began to be replaced, particularly from the 1970s, by a view of culture as area studies – a learning about countries. Culture in such a view is embedded in a knowledge about the history, geography and institutions of the target language country. It becomes an issue of setting rather than text, of polities rather than people. Cultural competence in this case comes to be viewed as a body of knowledge about the country, which is part of the knowledge that native speakers can be expected to have. It is less focussed on an educated élite than the literary studies paradigm, but is still related to educated knowledge.

This paradigm seems to view language learning as having as a goal communication with native speakers, or at least contact with the target language country. Area knowledge is seen as a background for understanding language and society. However, this paradigm implicitly seems to view such contact as observation of the country, in a rather tourist-like way, in which the learner knows about the country but remains external to it.

As with literary studies, the relationship between language and culture remains tenuous; in fact, it appears to be even more attenuated than in the literary studies paradigm. Language here is primarily used for naming events, institutions, people and places. There is no inherent connection between language and the institutions, history and geography of a country.

3 The 'Culture as practices' approach

A third paradigm in the teaching of culture has dealt with culture as practices. This paradigm became very strong in the 1980s as a result of work by anthropologists such as Gumperz (1971, 1982) and Smolicz (1981). This approach seeks to describe cultures in terms of the practices and values which typify them. As such, cultures can be seen as favouring 'direct' or 'indirect' ways of speaking, as organising texts in particular valued ways. This approach sees culture a collective way of acting through language. This view of cultural competence leaves the learner primarily within his/her own cultural paradigm, observing and interpreting the words and actions of an interlocutor from another cultural paradigm.

Within this paradigm cultural competence becomes knowing about what people from a given cultural group are likely to do and understanding the cultural values placed upon certain ways of acting or upon certain beliefs. This view of culture becomes strongly tied to language as it sees action through language as central to culture. However, there are dimensions of the approach which can obscure the strength of this link, in particular in what has come to be called cross-cultural training. In many approaches to cross-cultural training culturally based practices are presented to people who do not know the language of the other culture and are not involved in learning this language. The values and practices, therefore, tend to become separated from the linguistic context in which they are performed.

One further criticism which can be made of this paradigm is that it tends to present cultures as relatively static and homogeneous. This in turn leads to a possibility of stereotyping the target culture, especially in contexts in which culture learning and language learning are widely separated and the possibilities for interactions between speakers are limited.

4 Intercultural language teaching

Most recently, the new paradigm we have referred to as 'intercultural language teaching' in this introduction has arisen in language education. It differs significantly from previous paradigms in its approach to teaching culture based on a renewed understanding of the nature of cross-cultural encounters and a deeper understanding of the links between language and culture. We describe this paradigm in more detail below.

IV Intercultural language teaching

Two strikingly consistent features of language teaching history since its beginning some 5000 years ago (Germain 1993:21) till today are a) that language teaching has predominantly been based on the *written form* of the languages taught and b) that culture, as we have already mentioned, has always been taught as an adjunct to language whether in the form of literature (high culture) or cultural studies (e.g. history and customs).

Even when the proclaimed aims of language teaching (eg. the direct method, the audio-lingual method, and to an extent the Communicative Approach) were to teach people how to use a foreign *spoken language* to communicate *across cultures,* the content of language education by and large remained heavily based on written forms, that is, mainly grammar, and culture was never taught as an inherent part of language. The Communicative Approach attempted to remove exclusive focus on grammatical forms and undertook instead to teach forms within 'functions' of language use. This constituted a revolution in itself but this revolution went only so far and did not deliver the expected promises (Liddicoat 1997). The Communicative Approach as the most current and widely spread approach to language teaching in the western world today has not significantly improved the teaching of communication in a foreign language. It also has not significantly contributed to the promotion of intercultural competence or cross-cultural understandings. Why not?

In a recent article McMeniman and Evans (1997) argue that the failure of language teaching policy and practice has been to underplay the importance of teaching a foreign language as the most overt expression of a culture. The new Australian guidelines for language education for example have not yet fully endorsed an intercultural approach to language teaching. Byram *et al* (1990) have also argued that, in Britain, culture is still not taught as an inherent part of language. Kramsch (1993) has pointed out that language itself is culture so to fully know a foreign culture from within – as opposed to just *know about* another culture – inevitably implies learning the language of this culture [the term *linguaculture* coined by Attinasi and Friedrich (1988) encapsulates the inseparability between language and culture]. How then can the links between language and culture be still so underplayed in language teaching policy and practice?

There are two main reasons for this. Firstly, culture as expressed in spoken or written language is not readily accessible for scrutiny in the language classroom – unlike grammar studied in written texts or functions of language. To access culture in language use requires some effort, some form of inquiry. Research in discourse analysis can assist language teachers in cracking the cultural codes of the languages they have to teach but this also requires an effort from language teachers to rethink the very nature of language: how it shapes human interactions and relationships. The understanding of how language/culture works in language use is the first step required from language teachers and language policy makers for them to be able to actively support an intercultural approach to language teaching. Secondly, it is to identify what is Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT), its aim and mode of operation.

Aim of Intercultural Language Teaching

ILT aims at supporting the development of intercultural competence through the learning of foreign languages and by extension through the learning of how language and culture connect in one's first and target language.

Intercultural competence has become a wide ranging concept and languages teaching cannot claim to be the only way to achieve it. However second foreign teaching can certainly claim to be the most complete and versatile tool available to understand and to *experience* how language and culture shape one's and others' world views. Understanding how worldviews come into being is a core aspect of intercultural competence. Intercultural inquiries outside the realm of language studies *per se* necessarily involve the use of language. Language pervades all activities of human life and if language is culture, culture also pervades all the possible ways of doing things i.e. ways of being human. As we have already suggested intercultural competence without the experience of knowing how living *in* at least one foreign language/culture can affect us is an impoverished form of intercultural competence. In other words, while there is undoubtedly a case for sustained study of otherness, and of cultural and ideological traditions in the language of the learner (e.g. the study of Zen philosophy in English) these studies are NOT likely to be as behaviour changing as study of cultural traditions in the language which produced them would be (e.g. the study of Zen philosophy primarily in Japanese) – provided of course that the study of culture in the target language uses an intercultural approach to language/culture learning.

In this sense, multicultural education does not necessarily have to imply the study of foreign second languages but the former without the latter is limited and will have difficulty in producing the results it often claims to want to achieve – i.e. tolerance, peace and cross-cultural understanding. For these aims to be achieved change in personal 'cultural/linguistic' behaviour is necessary. This kind of behavioural change is more likely to occur through intercultural language teaching than multicultural education divorced from language study.

Intercultural Language Teaching mode of operation

Intercultural Language Teaching has three fundamental aspects. They include:

- The teaching of a linguaculture
- The comparison between learners' first language/culture and target language/culture
- Intercultural exploration.

These ideas are discussed in more details on the following pages.

a The teaching of a linguaculture or links between language and culture

A foreign culture in the form of adjunct knowledge to language such as food, music, customs, art or literature is easily accessible to the language learner. Arguably these forms of culture do not even require knowledge of the target language to be learnt, and are commonly taught through students' first language outside language programs and departments. They can be learnt through exposure (e.g. food, music, arts) or through traditional language programs (e.g. in the extreme but still common case where foreign literature is studied in the learners' first language). Culture as embedded in language use is however not acquirable through osmosis (e.g. study abroad) or past approaches to language learning as we have described them above. It requires an approach which delves into the micro levels of culture as entwined in language use. Crozet and Liddicoat (1999) have suggested points of articulation (see Chapter eight) between language and culture which intercultural language pedagogy can expose and turn into teachable material.

b The comparison between learners' first language/culture and target language/culture.

An intercultural approach to language teaching implies teaching a foreign language/culture in counterdistinction to the learners' first language. This results in the learning of both one's own linguaculture as well as the target linguaculture. In multicultural societies, language classrooms host learners from various ethnic and linguistic backgrounds. Comparing linguacultures therefore can expand from comparing two linguacultures to comparing several.

In the case of bi-comparison of linguacultures, language education in Sri Lanka offers a good illustration of our argument. In Sri Lankan schools the practice of comparing the alphabets of Tamil and Sinhala usually raises questions of culture, and particular kinds of culture, though these are not *explicitly* seen this way.

Teachers have been observed to introduce vowel graphemes to students and say: 'The Tamils do it like this, and we do it like that'. This expression carries manifold cultural messages. First it is clear that to speak of writing as a *common* act differently executed is to link the learner's language with the target language in an open way ('We both do this thing, but we do it differently') and, perhaps more subtly, to speak of writing as a *practice* ('We *do* it this way. They *do* it that way'). To speak of writing (indeed of literacy) as a practice is to locate it within a social context, a plastic one which is available to us to learn. In these micro instances every presentational and comparative language teaching activity is a potentially rich source for foregrounding cultural difference within a framework of similarity. Observations of English speaking children studying Japanese, and Hebrew, at Mt Scopus College in Melbourne some years ago also indicated that simple text to paper choices are rich sources of cultural comparison.

Lo Bianco (1999) observed children commenting on R>L, or L>R (right to left, left to right directionality, ie. the direction of text on paper), or Top to Bottom orientations of print on page as arbitrary choices. Clearly if it is possible for orthographic differences to reflect choices, then no one choice has a natural claim to superiority and all must reflect a culturally preferred pattern given life at some time in a linguaculture's history. Similarly, the ways in which Japanese writing requires the use of Katakana to mark words of foreign origin indicates a cultural choice. Readers of Japanese are constantly reminded of the indigenous-foreign boundary of words – italics serves a similar, but far less extensive function in English (Lo Bianco 1999).

c Intercultural exploration

We have already discussed what intercultural exploration means when we talked about the notion of 'mediation of a third place between two differing cultures'. This third place can also be a place between more than two cultures. In this case the labelling 'third place' is inadequate and we can simply refer to 'a meeting place' where the understanding of how different worldviews operate (in one's own linguaculture and foreign linguacultures) frees the mind to explore and at the same time to create interculturality. It is in the intercultural space that unity and diversity can be reconciled. Human beings need boundaries to make sense of the world and to act in the world but they have at the same time the potential to transcend those boundaries. The natural attraction most people have to the exotic, the foreign – including foreign languages (in non-conflictual contexts) is a secret call for reaching beyond known environments in order to expand. The difference between being a servant of one's cultural boundaries and to be free from them does not lie in the annihilation of one's own boundaries (e.g. through the adoption of another culture or parroting foreign cultural codes) but in the awareness of what those boundaries are. This is the essence of intercultural competence: the ability to recognise where and when culture is manifest in cross-cultural encounters and the ability to manage an intercultural space where all parties to the encounter are comfortable participants. The successful management of intercultural spaces obviously involves more than understanding the dynamics of cross-cultural encounters at the level of language and culture, it also involves a choosing harmony/peace orientation over conflict/war orientation. Harmony/peace however (especially between different ethnicities) have a better chance of flourishing where there is understanding of how the self and the other operate within their respective cultural boundaries.

We can say that language education over time has ranged in its various endeavours from the teaching of grammar to the teaching of peace. Indeed governments in areas of conflicts between different ethnic groups are now calling upon language education planners to bring peace through language learning (see Lo Bianco's chapter and Inbar *et al* 1999). In those cases government actions are a reflection of the common belief in the wider community that language learning can lead to better understanding between cultures. The challenge is knowing how to teach languages for this purpose.

The different chapters in this book are far ranging in content. They all touch however on what 'the third place' entails from language policy to language teaching practice at a global and local level.

In Part One of the book, *Intercultural competence in context,* the different chapters give the broader context in which intercultural competence ought to be considered, that is in relation to globalisation, national identity versus supranational identity and language policy. In Part Two of the book, *Intercultural competence in practice,* contributors to the different chapters discuss the links between language and culture as the basis for understanding the meaning of intercultural competence and the various implications this has for language teaching practice.

Gundara's chapter observes how the pressures of globalisation have led to the erosion of national State power and the de-democratisation of both national and local politics. These features of globalisation in turn contribute to the rise of local ethnic conflicts. Gundara suggests that the power imbalance between the universal and the local can be redressed in 'the political milieu', a kind of international third/meeting place where negotiation between global and local forces can take place. It is within this milieu that national/local language policies must reach consensus to avoid alienation of the most vulnerable linguistic communities. Gundara's chapter within this broad international context stresses the importance of supporting intercultural bilingual education as a way to minimize local ethnic conflict. He also suggests a reconciliation between Unity and Diversity through the respect of cultural/linguistic difference along with the right to be similar.

Zarate illustrates the tension between Unity and Diversity in the European context. She examines the struggles of the French nation in trying to reconcile the need to adhere to a European supranational identity with the need to acknowledge French cultural and linguistic national pluralism. Zarate makes the interesting remark that the French recognition of their linguistic and cultural pluralism has been triggered by their need to open up to Europe more than an intrinsic realisation that France is ethnically and linguistically plural. Global European forces in this case have acted as a mirror for the French nation to redefine itself in terms which are more reflective of its true ethnic and linguistic reality. The mirror in this case is a third/meeting place where the counter-distinction between European and National needs become observable and facilitates the negotiation for both a common and separate identity.

Lo Bianco gives a dramatic illustration of the general principles we are putting forward in this book. In Sri Lanka in the past language policy/education has alienated people and damaged social trust (Bailey 1998). Now a new and more appropriate language education plan is being pursued with an aim to restore relations of social harmony. The 'Worldbank Assistance Project for Sri Lanka' is bound to deliver new insights on how language education could contribute to peace making. This plan recognises that to achieve its aims a move away from traditional Second language pedagogy towards the adoption of intercultural second language teaching is one first imperative.

Lambert's chapter puts forward the argument that in the future language education policy will play an increasing role in international and national politics as more and more State powers acknowledge the ethnic plurality which inhabits nations and supra-national zones (eg. USA, Australia and the European Union). Lambert argues that foreign language learning needs to be reconsidered in terms of the impact it has on socialisation and the formation of identity. He discusses the notion of 'tertiary socialisation', a third place created by the opening to other worlds. Lambert further suggests that this tertiary socialisation when successful leads to a new kind of identity which requires the practice of intercultural competence to be lived successfully. He endows language teachers with the responsibility to understand the political nature of their work.

Singh and Singh observe the tensions and creations of what can be called another particular 'third place' when they examine the effect of the internationalisation of English teaching on the English language and Anglo ethnicity and culture. They suggest that managers and teachers in the English language teaching business need particular intercultural competencies to help reconcile issues linked to the economic orientation of global English teaching with the social and cultural issues this entails.

In the last chapter of Part One Byram argues that the links between education and economic development are becoming more evident and that the impact of this recognition in language education is leading to a shift from utilitarian orientation to language learning to more humanistic orientation where language learning is seen as giving cross-cultural skills which in turn promote harmony between speakers from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Byram also examines the issue of identity formation – in multicultural societies within the European space and other countries – and notes that this can imply not only acceptance of 'otherness' but also protection of one's unique culture. The very notion of what is cultural identity within pluralism at the national or supranational level remains therefore to be negotiated. Byram argues for example that the meaning of 'the feeling of being European' – which educators in Europe are now asked to promote in their classrooms – is up for negotiation. Language teaching in this sense, in the role it has to play in national education systems, cannot be neutral. It is necessarily political.

All the chapters in Part One of the book clearly point to the political nature of language education. They vividly show how language issues, and in particular questions of language/cultural identity permeate global, national and local politics as well as the personal lives of individuals.

The notion of 'third place' is relevant to both language policy makers and language educators/teachers. In both instances the common thread is for negotiation and the finding of a meeting place between different forces, different cultures and worldviews. Intercultural competence is at the heart of all third places which are constantly negotiating the role and shape language education ought to take from policy to practice.

In Part Two of the book, the authors of the various chapters look closely at what intercultural competence is and implies in terms of language pedagogy. From the broader context of global and national concerns we move more closely to the language classroom to examine intercultural competence at work through language education.

Carr's chapter sets the tone for the second part of the book. She argues that language teachers have 'no real tools for teaching culture' and this is because of the lack of a workable model to understand the nature of culture and its relation to language. She admits that the cultural relativity argument (once too static) has been extended to include now comparative analysis between culture one and culture two which can help students 'come out of their comfort zone of the normative cultural sense of how things are...'. Carr though goes beyond the need for comparative analysis which in her view is still based on division. She suggests that what is required instead is 'connective analysis' between linguacultures leading to exploration of interstices, which is the theme of this book: the exploration of the third place through language education. Carr sees the language classroom itself as the site for creating a culture of a third kind where dialogic encounters can happen pending the use of an appropriate pedagogy which teaches the links between language and culture as an explorative process. The inherent 'messyness' of intercultural exploration she further argues should not deter us from understanding better what this process entails.

Crozet and Liddicoat's chapter follows on from Carr's main argument and offers some 'tools for teaching culture'. The authors explore the meaning of intercultural competence for language educators. They offer a definition of culture and describe points of articulation between language and culture which can help language teachers identify where and how to find culture in language use. In the second part of their chapter Crozet and Liddicoat discuss the main point of a new pedagogy for successful intercultural language teaching.

FitzGerald's chapter looks into the issues involved in teaching culture in the context of teaching English as a second language (ESL) to adult migrants in Australia. She argues that the lack of understanding of how culture works in language use leads ESL teachers – often unconsciously – to 'assimilationist' approaches to teaching English. FitzGerald refers to the notion that culture in language is not acquired through osmosis even when the language learner lives in the target culture; it requires intellectual effort. She argues that ESL adult learners need to be prepared for both the domestic and international market needs. This implies teaching differences of norms of interactions between native and non-native communication when both occur in English. She recognises that ESL education is about supporting learners to find a third place between linguaculture one and two but at the same time FitzGerald warns against the potential negative implications of not giving ESL learners *enough* understanding of what the cultural patterns of the dominant culture are. She finally suggests the use of Conversation Analysis research to assist with the depicting of culture as found in language use.

Barraja-Rohan turns FitzGerald's suggestion into reality in her chapter on

'Teaching conversation for intercultual competence' through the use of Conversation Analysis. After explaining the role of conversation in developing intercultural competence, Barraja-Rohan describes an approach to teaching conversation which has been trialed in practice and is now available as a course book. Her work is exemplary in that it brings together theory of conversation (Conversation Analysis) and its applicability in the language classroom. Barraja-Rohan argues, like FitzGerald, that traditional ESL teaching has tended to force learners to adapt to the Australian norms of interaction without leaving room for intercultural exploration and enrichment for *both* sides. She also points to the crucial need to train ESL educators to use intercultural language pedagogy, which involves understanding the cultural features of Australian English.

Carroli, Hillman and Maurer's chapter presents their reflection on an innovative course which endeavours to teach cross-cultural understanding through the teaching of Comparative Literature and includes the use of not only literary text but also films and artworks. The course aims to foster a cross-cultural learning experience of 'the fabric of Europe' and gives a central part to studying culture in the language which produced it.

Thielmann' s argument in the last chapter of the book suggests that it is not enough to teach 'correctness' of speech or 'discourses rules'. He points to the need to connect the cultural features of language use to extra-linguistic reality. Thielmann demonstrates how meaning determines the structure of a text-genre. He further discusses the implications of his argument for language teaching.

The conclusion of the book brings together the implications of choosing intercultural language teaching as the new paradigm for language education. We show the implications of this choice at the level of policy and practice.

Endnotes

1. Clyne (1999:23) in fact argues that "... the whole of Australian history has been marked by a tension between monolingualism/monoculturalism multilingualism/multiculturalism". His following optimistic comment "I am of the firm belief that the latter is now quite secure in Australia" is perhaps not so widely agreed upon.
2. The National Multicultural Advisory Council report (1999) *Australian multiculturalism for a new century: Towards Inclusiveness,* page 47 – 48.

References:

Attinasi, J. & Friedrich, A.P. (1988). Dialogic Breakthrough: *Catalysis and Synthesis in Life-changing Dialogue.* Unpublished manuscript.

Bailey, R.A. (1998). *Majority language, minority misery, the case of Sri Lanka.* pp 206-225 in Kibbee, D.A. (ed) *Language legislation and linguistic rights.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Boon, J. (1982) *Other Tribes, Other Scribes: Symbolic Anthropology in the Comparative Study of Cultures, Histories, Religions, and Texts.*, Cambridge University Press.

Byram, M., Esarte-Sarries.,V. & Taylor, S. (1990) *Cultural studies and language learning: a research report.* Clevedon, Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Castles and Miller (1993) *The Age of Migration – International Population Movements in the Modern World.* The Macmillan Press.

Crozet, C. & Liddicoat, A. (1999). *Turning promises into practices: the challenges of intercultural language teaching.* Australian Language Matters, vol7 no.1.

Clyne, M. (1998:23). *Managing Language Diversity and Second Language Programmes in Australia.* In Sue Wright and Helen Kelly Holmes (eds) *Managing Language Diversity. Multilingual Matters.*

Germain, C. (1993). *Evolution de l'enseignement des langues: 5000 ans d'histoire.* Cle International, Paris.

Gumperz, J. J. (1971). *Language in Social Groups.* Palo Alto CA: Standford University Press.

Gumperz, J. J. (1982). *Discourse Strategies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hage, G. (1998). *White Nation – Fantasies of White supremacy in a multiculturaL society.* Pluto Press, p118-140.

Inbar, O., Shohamy, E., Donitsa-Schmidt, S., Tel-Aviv University (1999). *The effect of teaching spoken Arabic on students' attitudes and motivation.* Paper presented to the American Association of Applied Linguistics, Stamford CT. USA, March 9 1999.

Joseph, E.J. (1998). *The Misery and the Splendour of Multiculturalism: A Response to Michael Clyne.* In Sue Wright and Helen Kelly Holmes (eds) Managing Language Diversity. Multilingual Matters, Clevedon.

Kramsch,C. (1993). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford University Press.

Liddicoat, A.J. (1997). *Every speech as culture: implications for language teaching.* ARAL Series S n.14, 55-70.

Lo Bianco, J. (1999). *Multiliteracies and Multilingualism.* In Bill Cope and Mary Kalantzis (eds), *Multiliteracies: Literacy Learning and the Design of Social Futures.* Routledge, London.

McMeniman, M., Evans, R. (1997). *The contribution of language learning to the development of cultural understandings.* ARAL 20(2): 1-18.

Madina, S. (1995). *Cultural diversity and the media: the Special Broadcasting Service (SBS) experience in Australia.* Paper presented at the Global Cultural Diversity Conference, Sydney.

National Multicultural Advisory Council (1999) *Australian multiculturalism for a new century: towards inclusiveness.* Commonwealth of Australia.

Ohmae, K. (1994) *The Borderless World. Power and Strategy in the Global Marketplace.* Harper Collins.

Ozolins, U. (1993) *The Politics of Language in Australia.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Smolicz, J. J. (1981) *Core Values and Cultural Identity.* Ethnic and Racial Studies 4: 75-90.

U. de Sousa, G. (1999) *Shakespeare's cross-cultural encounters.* Macmillan Press LTD, Great Britain.

Part I

Intercultural Competence in Context

Chapter 1

Linguistic Diversity, Globalisation and Intercultural Education

Jagdish Gundara

1 – Globalisation and Exclusions

The pressures on nations during the post-colonial period has led to intense pressures and strains on many national governments[1]. One of the problems has been the difficulty of holding together socially diverse politics in the post-colonial states but also in Europe. Sound language policies can lead to social integration and as democratic focus for legitimation of national and international social order.

The African continent for instance, has suffered immensely from indebtedness. Despite paying back billions of dollars in debt service and being reduced to debt-peonage[2] it is considered to be a 'structural irrelevance' to the global economy. It is no wonder that African academics, intellectuals have been reduced to being 'pessimists'. Professor Ali Mazrui has floated the idea of a Pax Africana – a model of self-colonisation. This paper will not deal with this complex issue but it will suggest that in educational terms, languages and knowledge need to be re-contextualised in most politics internationally.

One of the main problems confronting national integration is the way in which state systems are being disaggregated by dual pressures of globalisation and calls for autonomy or devolution. Globalisation leads to extra territorialisation which detracts from the way in which nations can hold themselves together[3].

This is a rather partial view of issues of linguistic domination and globalisation from an inclusive and intercultural perspective, and does not represent the details of multiple communication, informational and institutional manifestations but a brief over-view of the non-virtual global. Part of the problem lies in the way in which the articulation of global visions is not democratic and certain societal features are excluded by the way in which it is currently constituted. The globalised satellite information and entertainment systems are not free or democratic and a rational appraisal of the role of voices at national and local levels has not been worked out or planned in any region of the world. Reactive voices to western media, information and linguistic neo-colonialism are not adequate. Just to give one example, in economic terms, because the transnationals, and the World Trade Organisation determine capital flows and devise structural adjustment programmes, they do not necessarily take cognisance of the significance of national sovereignties. The use of English as the main communicative language is not only threatening to various forms of local or regional English but other commercial languages and linguistic systems generally. The issues therefore are of developing greater levels of consensus on language policies which will avoid exclusions and reactions of various linguistic communities.

As in the case of the above example, the global macro economies (America, Europe and Japan) do not necessarily work hand in hand with local micro economies, and nor do the power structures largely located in the north, deal equitably with the poorer south or in east and central Europe. A more democratic governance at organisational levels from local to global may be one way of legitimising global governance. However, the political economy of the global corporate order is based on integrating production/consumption patterns on a monolingual and monocultural basis. In this process, relations, services, between finance as well as labour standards are levelled out through centralised control and concentration of power. These processes do not only have an economic impact on the local.

Giddens refers to the global impact on the local as follows:

> Globalisation can thus be defined as the intensification of worldwide social relations which link distant localities in such a way that local happenings are shaped by events occurring many miles away and vice versa. This is a dialectical process because such local happenings may move in an obverse direction from the very distanciated relations that shape them. Local transformation is as much part of globalisation as the lateral extension of social connections across time and space[4].

'Local transformations' include the rise of linguistic, racial or religious chauvinism or local nationalisms, and where these are conflictual in nature they can destabilise a locality, nation or region. They may even have wider reverberations. Globalisation therefore, has many strands and does not have a single trajectory.

There are as such few democratic accountabilities and genuine international governance. Action by global financial institutions in the USA, can undermine the financial markets of certain nations or regions (e.g. Mexico, Central and Latin America), as well as undermine power of labour by employing cheap child and women labour. The liberalisation of economies underlying this has led to lowering of terms and conditions of employment as well as creating insecurity at societal level. Local environments are being destroyed by conglomerate mining companies, and the destruction of communities who have till recently lived in sustainable and stable conditions. National governments in many parts of the world have failed to protect national spaces and the long-term livelihood of many local communities has been eroded. Linguistic Darwinism and genocide is part and parcel of this erosion.

Many national governments are powerless in trying to reform the corporate powers and in fact, in many cases past (Thatcher, Reagan, Bush) and present leaders have played duplicitious role with corporate structures in strengthening the undemocratic features of global control. While stressing national sovereignty they have in fact helped in undermining it. One of the key elements in reforming this process is the democratisation of agencies like the World Trade Organisation, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the OECD which manage global economies. International regulation of free market processes is essential[5] and may need to include a global central bank to remove inequities. This is of paramount importance because ordinary people, local ad hoc groups, and civic groups, are too weak to campaign effectively against globalised inequities. Such global control affects intercultural relations negatively and not just the fourth world peoples (the tribal and indigenous peoples) in the southern hemisphere, but also those in the first world. The tribal peoples in most continents, and numerous smaller nationalities and linguistic communities in many countries, are examples of those groups. However, the same issues are equally relevant in many societies in the so-called developed countries in the northern hemisphere. Increasingly, as Chomsky argues, the Galbraithian notion of private wealth and public squalor is also reflected in the third worldisation of first world cities.

This enforced globalisation which respects no frontiers, and is allowed to function by national elites, wipes out differences and diversities within a society and can have serious consequences for social peace in a polity[6]. Features of globalisation which are imposed on local communities without their consent lead to the wiping out of local communities, languages, skills and trades with consequent loss of security and certainties within localities. The fragmenting of families and communities during the marketisation and privatisation of resources has taken place on an unprecedented scale. In Britain these were ironically personified by Norman Tebbit, asking people to 'get on your bike' to get a job. Movement by workers to find jobs have eroded family unities, local languages and structures of local communities in many parts of the world.

1.1 The General and the Economic Global

Discussions in certain circles view globalisation as a concept of the 1990s and see it as less controversial than post modernism[7]. While the term 'global' is 400 years old, 'globalisation' began to be used about 1960, and has been extensively used the since 1980s in academic discussions[8]. There are obvious ways in which economic and social processes are subject to fewer geographical constraints than in the past, largely through capitalist developments emanating from the United States, the European Union and Japan. As a result of these developments nation – state structures governing diverse societies are increasingly under stress and at times have a limited role in controlling the impact of globalisation. The neo-liberalisation of economies has meant that many state systems have little control on the flows of capital and most of their efforts to control economies and societies are accomplished through coercion and violence on their populations.

Most of the state systems in the southern hemisphere and east of the Elbe are peripheral or semi peripheral to the dominant players (like European Union, Japan and the USA). Their political, economic and linguistic 'integration and development' does not result from a democratic process of consultation and engagement but is largely a result of dominant aggressive capitalist expansion. Corrupt and autocratic national regimes exacerbate the situation in which the poorer peoples find themselves.

Increasingly marginalised societies are also more vulnerable to global forces of terrorism, lawlessness and crime. The more authoritarian the societies, the greater the likelihood that forces of democratisation are curbed as are those of the legitimate and diverse market forces. The economic crisis only represents a crisis of ethical values in the economic domain. It also represents aspects of corruption in the wake of international capital flows and, which are autocratic not democratic, conspiratorial not transparent as well as embodying low levels of accountability and therefore reflective of bad governance. The darker side of undemocratic economic globalisation also entails a great deal of criminal activity which net, $750 billion to $1 trillion a year[9]. In technological terms the technocratic global also cannot be equated with the democratic global.

Globalisation has currently taken shape, in worrying ways largely through the massive control of technological, financial, natural resources, media and communications and weapons of mass destruction by transnationals. These monolingually operated transnational empires have few moorings or accountabilities. This massive harnessing of resources without any democratic consents and largely relying on the market is inimical to universal human needs. The negative features of globalisation do not liberate humanity from the menace of war, nor do they provide access to global resources for equitable sharing and distribution. The monopolies of financial and technological resources remain intact and there are no political institutions at a world level which would provide ìsocial interests on a global scale[10]. They therefore give rise to negative features of the rise of xenophobia, chauvinism and fundamentalism. The assumption being made here is that unless globalisation processes are undertaken within the political realm, the alienations, inequalities and disadvantages felt by various groups, communities and nationalities will inevitably have negative consequences. It is only in the context of a progressive political milieu that there can be a resolution of conflicts between the universal and the local or the particular and the general, and a possibility of bringing about social progress through democratic forces. In the absence of egalitarian goals to bring about equality and fraternity there can be no stability. Current economic forces have led to 20 percent of the world's peoples controlling 80 percent of its resources and tensions at local levels in many parts of the world have been heightened. The recent problems in many regions of the world are just the beginning of a crisis which will affect ordinary people and contain seeds of even graver consequences for inter-group and communal relations. The expansion of capitalism in global terms cannot be seen as being conducive to development because it does not necessarily lead to full employment or greater levels of equality in the distribution of income. Instead expansion is guided by the search of profit by corporations and the consequences of their activities to local communities are seldom an important consideration. Most transnationals pay lip-service to issues of equity, environment and ethics.

The post-World War II and post-independence movement of non-aligned peoples set up in Bandung (1955) has received set-backs. The modernisation and development which would have assisted the masses of peoples in non-aligned poorer countries has faltered because of the way in which the national states have been undermined by current patterns of globalisation and their economies made stagnant. As Amin writes:

'For countries at the periphery, this stagnation leads to a grave involution of which fourth worldisation of Africa is the most extreme example'[11].

As a response to this phenomenon Amin suggests that national governments 'de-link' from globalisation processes, in favour of internal national development. Countries which are peripheralised as a result at this de-linking may need to establish structures of solidarity to provide mutual support and create mechanisms of mutual adjustment, to replace the current unilateral adjustment of the weakest to the strongest. De-linking as such is a difficult process because corrupt national elites are beneficiaries of the current 'links' and may not want to pay the personal price of reversing the situation. However, solidarity is necessary for poorer nations and also between groups at local levels to provide mutual support with others in similar situations. Such mechanisms of mutual adjustment necessitate deep political, institutional and democratic changes in every part of the world, so that the majority of peoples can benefit from 'interdependence with mutual respect for diversity'[12]. Here paradoxically diverse linguistic groups communicate by using dominant international languages.

Instead of the current globalisation imposed by capital, there is a need for processes which take the social, economic, cultural and political needs of peoples as their central focus. In the absence of such a complex process a disjuncture between globalisation based on capital and localisation based on xenophobia, communalism, chauvinism, fundamentalism and racisms is bound to increase. This can be seen in many countries which have become peripheralised because of the differentiation between the semi-industrialised third world and the unindustrialised fourth world. As segments of national production systems have become part of the globalised productive system, the rest have not seen any positive changes.

In areas which have become peripheralised and have not become industrialised there are vast pools of reserve armies of labour with no prospect of productive capacity or of migration[13]. As the project of nation building and integration becomes remote for the socially diverse polities, the previous unifying tendencies turn sour. Forces become centrifugal and as the state begins to disaggregate in parts of the world:

'The political crisis are founded on this breakdown, on this disintegration of the state and the accompanying rise of ethnic movements and religious fundamentalism.'[14]

Globalisation processes which are imposed on local communities result in resentment against 'The Other', and this issue requires some analysis.

The disintegration of many countries is a living example of this process and ethnic renewals take the place of the previous forces of modernisation and integrative nation building. The unification of nations as diverse as India, and Indonesia has been challenged, and there is rising religious fervour in many countries[15]. In general, the weaker and more peripheral the state, the more vulnerable it is to global crises and especially the negative aspects of market forces. Because economic globalisation as such, is not based on equity and equitable principles but on exploitation, it has led to greater levels of global polarisation.

Globalisation as currently organised therefore, is not based on rational principles and nor does it have a universalist character. Therein, lies the real challenge on how to bring about inclusive global forces which will lead to the universalisation of equitable relations at an international level.

While there are no frontiers for the transfer of capital, there is obviously no such provision for the migration of labour, so that labour can follow the flows of capital. The exacerbation of ethnic tensions which include linguistic, racial and religious features within or across state boundaries, is one result of the current economic crisis internationally.

The vulnerability of the 3 million or so South Asian migrant workers in East Asian so-called 'tiger' economies and the rough treatment meted out to Indonesian refugees in Malaysia by the Malaysian Government are a case in point. The fall of the Suharto regime in Indonesia results from the combination of IMF's enforced economic medicine and the garnering of vast national resources by one corrupt and autocratic family. The Chinese or the Ambon as minorities have been scapegoated for all of Indonesia's problems. What is missing in current regional relations are ways in which collective regional bodies (like OAU, OAS or SARC) can consolidate the needs of diverse groups in different regions. These needs are not just economic but also for greater democratisation and the meeting of public and social policy needs of citizenry.

One important issue is how to re-configurate international relations to ensure that disaggregative tendencies of religious, linguistic, territorial and other diversities do not pull apart societies which have previously held together. At one level this poses a political and ideological issue, and at another level calls for the implementation of social policy issues including education which can assist in reshaping diversity into unity. To turn diversity into unity can only work if democratic forces can prophylactically plan towards unity. As Amin states:

'...bourgeois revolution is not a viable solution because it does not permit these societies to go beyond the boundaries of peripheral capitalism, while socialist revolution is not the order of the day, because the local social forces do not have sufficient maturity.'[16]

2 – Developing Inclusive Globalism

Given the range of complexities faced by states, the solution does not lie solely within currently dominant financial globalising forces or with the local communities on their own. Given the Janus headed notion of the nation, ties of blood and soil are likely to be reactivated. To reverse this process demands the political wisdom to strengthen and develop the other face of the monster i.e. the notions of modern constitutional nations based on equality, fraternity and liberty. This presents a major challenge to educators and schools[17]. Developing optimum bilingual and multilingual policies, which differ according to circumstances, are part of this process.

Many national communities embody notions of particularism as well as those of universalisms. There is an important function for academics, educators and other policy-makers to examine these complex notions and to analyse the myths, feelings, understandings and concepts surrounding them in order to develop rational ways of dealing with the resultant dilemmas. Education has normally been seen as secular or religious and the division and divisiveness caused by this separation has been very damaging. However, if civilisational knowledge can be pooled differently to draw the best from each phase of human history, then a more syncretic understanding from across civilisations and periods of time could inform the educational process differently. Can pooling of civilisational knowledge differently, allow for a more creative interplay of languages internationally?

In the first phase between fifth century BC and seventh century AD, universalist concepts of humanity were established by great religions like Zoroastrianism, Buddhism, Christianity and Islam and the Confucian and Hellenistic philosophies. However, as Amin states:

> '...this declaration of a universalist vocation did not establish a real unification of humanity. The conditions of tributary society did not permit it, and humanity reformed itself into major tributary areas held together by their own particular universalist religion-philosophy (Christendom, Dar Es Islam, the Hindu world, the Confucian world). It is still the case, however, that tributary revolution, like all the great revolutionary moments in history, projected itself forwards and produced concepts ahead of its time.'[18]

The second phase during the modern period likewise has made a contribution to universalism through the philosophy of the Enlightenment. This social vision of society was based on notions of a social contract and the French Revolution sought a nation based not on ideas of blood and ancestors but of free men [sic]. The abolition of slavery and ideas of secularism went beyond mere religious toleration. However despite the fact that the nation was not an affirmation of the particular, but of the universal, such universalist objectives have not been achieved. In the American Revolution a nation largely based on immigration, the right to be 'different' was recognised. Nevertheless, there has been little defence of the right to be 'similar' within a constitutional state, especially of the descendants of slaves and the indigenous Americans. Hence, inclusive social and political frameworks have not been optimally developed.

Thirdly, the rise of socialism in the 19th century further contributed to notions of radical transformation especially through Soviet Bolshevism. The price paid by socialism in respecting difference and not building inclusive rights to be 'similar' has been very evident in the dissolution of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. These states did not develop inclusive citizenships with common and shared values.

Fourthly, the post-colonial states likewise faced great challenges of maintaining unity with divisiveness being foisted on them by the colonisers. Most of them have tried to maintain national unity despite tendencies towards fragmentation. The Bandung principles (1955) need to be re-activated for better inter-state relations and developing inclusive democratic polities.

Hopes for the genuine underpinning of globalisation therefore lie in the collective wisdom of the earlier religious epoch, the Enlightenment philosophy, and their reinterpretation by the socialist movements as well as from progressive elements from amongst the post-colonialist liberation movements. The intercultural educational and political challenge for democratic ideas is to hold notions of respecting difference but at the same time ensuring the right to be similar. Such an approach could begin to break the polarisations between particularism and universalism. The role of linguistic systems and diversity in the context of developing linkages is critical.

Globalised capital does not necessarily provide nations with independence and dignity but rather results in the opposite[19]. Such globalised capitalism needs to be regulated by delimiting high levels of private profitability which are inimical to social good.

Many of the civic movements attempting to create democratic governance need to use the global informational systems in order to develop their capacities to establish more cooperative mechanisms for democratic and sustainable development. This version of the 'global village' however, currently remains unrealised and in its infancy.

There are various forms and patterns of historical movements and shifts which lead towards progressive notions of inclusion. Many of the initiatives undertaken by the United Nations which have moved towards creating peace, stability, equity and tolerance, are important developments.

The ways in which civil society has worked to create important instruments like the Convention of the Rights of the Child are an extremely important development in an age when children are victims of poverty, exploitation, war, conflicts, and abuse. The global march of children to the International Labour Organisations Geneva Conference, illustrates the weakness of the United Nations system in general and the weakness of legal measures against child abuse, labour and slavery. The various UN Summit Conferences like the Social Summit (Copenhagen), Environment (Rio de Janeiro) Women (Beijing) Population (Cairo) Drugs (New York) and Climate (Kyoto) have all helped in challenging the dominant paradigms of globalisation and providing civil society with a voice. However, their effect has been minimal in implementational terms. At national levels single issue groups or even the coalitions of groups in civil society are in their infancy but are not only weak, and are no match for well established organisations like OECD or WTO, nor do they not have a consistent voices at gatherings like that at Devos, Switzerland. Human rights groups have linguistic, cultural and regional problems, and are seldom able to provide consistent support, or to make strategic interventions.

There have also been numerous globalised educational initiatives to meet the challenges of xenophobia, racism and communalism. Some of the major initiatives after WWII have been advocated by UNESCO, and initiatives like global, international, peace and intercultural education, have been developed in many national and regional contexts. It is difficult to ascertain the impact of such initiatives. Nevertheless, it can be safely assumed that national school and higher education systems have not allowed these international initiatives to become part of the mainstream national education systems.

3 – Linguistic Diversity

At the global level the issue of linguistic diversity needs to be seen in the context of the other kinds of diversity which can be identified in human societies: ethnic diversity, religious, social classes and territorial diversity. In different geographical and political environments these are formulated in different ways, depending on the decisions made by national, regional or local authorities. An understanding of these different kinds of diversity is important to an understanding of most societies, both in historical and in contemporary terms[20].

These diversities, however, are not mutually exclusive. There are considerable overlaps. As a consequence it is not possible to consider one kind of diversity – linguistic diversity – without touching on other kinds of diversity. Inevitably, this section of the chapter will consider, in addition to linguistic issues, social and economic matters as they impinge on language teaching.

A further point needs to be made about the overlapping areas of diversity which exist globally in a variety of very different political contexts. At policy formulation levels, governments in different countries respond differently to linguistic diversity.

In many countries a privileged position is given to 'autochthonous' languages which are considered indigenous and a lower status to 'allochthonous' or non-indigenous languages. This creates an arbitrary division between such languages. Such a division not only divides the languages from each other but is inimical to the development of cohesive language policies and practices in schools. At the European level such a stance could reinforce not just to develop 'Fortress Europe' but a 'linguistic Fortress' with a greater importance being attached to major European languages. This is particularly true for the elite personnel in the European Union being trained in the official European languages both for the public and private sector, while the less powerful European languages and non-European languages are relegated to the margins[21]. The British Government's antipathy to other languages was reflected in the two schedules of languages proposed for the National Curriculum. The subsequent reversal of this position did not substantively change the status of the non-European languages in the curriculum.

Governments which favour integration, like the USA or France, do not accord full recognition to languages other than that of the major community, while others like China and India recognise a number of languages. Countries involved in nation-building may use only one national language, to minimise problems of disintegration. In terms of official educational policy, some governments favour bilingual education as a reflection of their acceptance of a pluralist society; some offer mother tongue provision as lip service to the idea of a plural society; others offer bilingual education in order to facilitate sending migrant workers back to their countries of origin. However, language policies which are not based on consent of the linguistically subordinated groups have greater potential for national disintegration.

These various responses are indications of the power relations between the different linguistic groups in different societies. They also reflect on the security or insecurity of different groups in a society. In the old Soviet Union the pressure for centralisation resulted in the teaching of Russian as the first language of the Soviet Union while pressures for teaching of languages of the nationalities remained.

The collapse of the Soviet Union was partly the result of the way in which Russians dominated the languages and cultures of the other nationalities and republics after Stalin. It has led to a narrow nationalistic and linguistic reaction within a number of ex-Soviet and Baltic states which cannot be ignored in other linguistically and socially diverse polities.

In India, pressures on the one hand to learn Hindi as a national language, and on the other to maintain the local and regional 'link' languages, both continue. This involves the issue of a balance between national integration on the one hand, while allowing for regional autonomy on the other. At the level of the elites in all sectors of national life English retains a pre-eminent role. In Eastern Africa, particularly Tanzania, the use of Swahili as a national language and a language of national integration is not based on economic considerations but more on political grounds. Similarly the turn about of the British Government in September 1980, in granting Wales a television channel – in Welsh – was a result of political pressure. This has been followed by recognition of Welsh language[22] in the National Curriculum for Wales and the setting up of the Welsh Language Board. As devolution occurs Scotland and Wales will increasingly turn to Gaelic and Welsh language in their respective legislative assembles and other aspects of national life. Will this give a new lease of life to various forms of regional English in the various regions of England? Will such linguistic diversity enrich local lives and also create friendships between different linguistic groups?

3.1 Linguistic factors

In describing linguistic factors it is important to start from a description of the particular speech communities and their communicative networks. In some parts of the world the linguistic issues are extremely complex. Each district in Micronesia has a different language. The Solomon Islands with a population of 120,000 has over seventy languages. In Papua New Guinea, two million people speak seven hundred languages. A country like Indonesia adopts a national language which is not that of the majority population, while the Philippines has several major languages with a national status.

For sociolinguistic purposes, the following categories of languages have been established:

(i) world languages
(ii) standardised languages and
(iii) local vernaculars

In these terms a world language is one used over wide areas of the world, providing access to modern science, technology and economic life. A standardised language is used within a particular political unit like the nation and is used to express a wide range of cultural, scientific, technological and economic notions, within that unit. A local vernacular is both more regional in nature and has the character of a social dialect. If this typology is used of various types of languages they should be looked on as a continuum, so that no value judgements about their relative importance are made.

Language planners in bilingual set-ups try to make certain choices relating to maintenance, shift, or revival of a language. If a language has to be maintained, this requires that a value judgement be made, and a decision taken on whether that language is to be used to a limited extent or given equal value with the standard language. Similar decisions need to be made on reviving a language. The status of French in Quebec which (cut off as it is from France) has continued to be used in schools, colleges and universities, and in all aspects of Quebec's life. Its role is different from that of Spanish in some parts of the USA, where it is a minority language not largely used in public life. The Maori language in New Zealand was widely used in 1900 and more material was published in it than in English. Now, about a century later, it is used very infrequently. However, with the infusion of Polynesian languages in New Zealand, there is a strong demand for the revival of the Maori language[23]. Similarly the revival of Irish as a national language has increased with the increase of political nationalism and perhaps after the resolution of conflicts in Northern Ireland.

3.2 Sociological factors

In sociological terms, immigrants in Europe and America basically face assimilatory policies since immigrant languages are accorded very low status. In economic terms, bilingual programmes are expensive to implement. Firstly, teachers need to be educated so that they can work with more than one language. Secondly, these programmes necessitate the availability of two sets of materials. Thirdly, there are extra costs involved in language planning and language modernisation. In some countries this is implemented by law. For instance, in the USA some projects have received funding from the Federal Government under the Bilingual Education Act. This Federal intervention, in turn, has made it necessary for State governments to allocate additional funds. In the recent past some of the administrations have negated the impact of this Act.

3.3 Economic factors

The major economic factor which needs consideration is that in the long term some parents may see bilingual education as providing preparation for employment, while others may feel their children's job prospects are only improved if they are effective speakers and writers of standard English. In many European countries, stress on mother tongue is used to keep a reserve pool of a low-paid army of migrant labour which is taught more in mother tongues and less in the standard dominant language lest the 'migrant' group becomes more mobile, and to facilitate return to countries of origin. In Australia[24], where the minorities do not feel as vulnerable as some migrants in certain European countries, the demand for and provision for 'community languages' is more firmly based in the school system and in the teacher training network. This is also true because larger numbers of teachers and teacher trainers come from countries which are bilingual and even trilingual.

4 – Educational options and outcomes

The concept of mother tongue teaching or bilingual education may give rise to two linguistic programmes: it may involve pure language maintenance, and it may involve development of the language. The goals may vary; they may be transitional bilingualism, partial bilingualism (i.e. monoliterate bilingualism) or full bilingualism.

The Brussels Foyer Project demonstrated that it was useful to develop biliteracy in two languages systematically. This was also subsequently demonstrated in the London Mother Tongue teaching Project with Modern Greek and Bengali as its main focus. These projects including learning materials in Greek and Bengali including and the usage of folk stories for both languages.

In Britain, the National Council for Mother Tongue Teaching has articulated a movement for teaching of first languages other than English. Apart from teaching of various languages in London, languages like Urdu, Punjabi, Bengali and Gujarati are being taught in Coventry, Leicester, Bradford, Leeds and elsewhere. London schools, in order to implement child-centred learning, having drawn on the broader experience of children outside school, including their use of first languages other than English – which is extensive. Rosen and Burgess in their 1978-79 survey showed that in twenty-eight Inner London (and Haringey[25]) schools there were:

20 British-based dialects of English
42 Overseas-based dialects of English
55 World named languages

Issues raised by these statistics relate to the achievement orientation of these dialects or languages other than English as mother tongue. The education of children at primary school levels may change dramatically if their first languages and dialects are recognised by teachers and supported in school[26] and subsequently by the examination system at the end of secondary school levels. This would have a significant effect on their performance in reading, writing, English and other subjects. In London there are at present few policies and insubstantial resources expended in this field. Supplementary and other voluntary schemes continue to provide patchy support to bilingual learners. These have no consistent pattern of involvement with the schools. Since they are out of school time, they did not become part of the work in the school or the classroom. Unless these languages are used in school, they will not become an integral part of the curriculum. In London local education authorities have produced forty bilingual cards for newly-arrived secondary school pupils (in Chinese, Spanish, Greek, Turkish, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati and Urdu). The 'Smile Maths Project' produced and translated versions of 'Smile Maths Cards' (in Chinese, Turkish and Bengali). In general, however, issues of mother tongue in London has received only scratched the surface given the potential presented by linguistic diversity. Languages certainly continue to be used socially by peer groups and form part of a network of intercultural friendships[27].

These issues, and the partial solutions mentioned above, indicate that progress in this field has been very limited when compared to some of the work done for instance, in Quebec in bilingual education. Studies there showed children who were totally functional in subjects studied either in French or in English. The research established that by the time children were in Grade 4 they had suffered no intellectual deficit or retardation. Children in Grades 2 and 3 were less ethno-centric and had a healthy self image. Self-concepts of children were not confused. Children also developed a higher order of skills in reading and calculating, and had a fuller capacity for learning as a two-way concept[28].

Language skills are a major component in school learning: they constitute two out of the three traditional three Rs. The choices for linguistic policy are therefore complex ones, likely to be influenced by linguistic, sociological, economic, political and cultural factors. Not all of these are relevant in all cases and obviously there are overlaps.

For example, Britain began as early as 1976 to oppose the EEC Directorate on the issue of mother tongue provision on economic grounds. Arguments used, stressed the inadequate supply of teachers and the problems of implementing such provision through a decentralised educational system. The subsequent changes in the education system towards centralisation have not helped the situation.

4.1 Advantages of Bilingualism

If bilingual education is implemented nationally, bilingual children benefit from this education, and there is no evidence of any disadvantages. In fact such children have advanced conceptual frames of reference. Problems arise only if social factors or issues of social adjustment are not taken into account. For instance, in Quebec, for long periods the French Canadians learnt English but the English did not learn French. However, now that the Quebecois have changed attitudes most of the English children learn French without any obvious adverse effect psychologically or educationally. Quebec realities have to a great extent changed the low status previously accrued to the French language. The Welsh language similarly faces issues of authenticating itself as having a public culture, associated with world literature or associated with the educational system. But over a period of time, both the Welsh language in Britain and French in Canada will be accorded a status relative to the dominant language which accords with their relative political and economic power.

The racial minorities in Britain have moved from a position where parents would regard the teaching of mother tongue as a marginal activity. Problems of parent-child communication are obvious. These spill over into communication within families and with members of the family in the countries of origin. While research is lacking in Britain about the positive effects of learning in the first language, this is certainly not the case in countries like Sweden or Finland. In Switzerland there is similar work demonstrating that children learn second languages much better if they are firmly grounded in their first language.

In Britain, if the racial minorities remain relatively linguistically powerless and they largely continue to occupy a low socio-economic status, their languages and culture will be ascribed a similarly low status. Among some first generation immigrants one commonly found a tendency to accept assimilationist aims for their children; maintenance of their language and culture can keep open opportunities for the second generation to learn the language formally, and this can be important where the second generation rejects parental acceptance of assimilationist tendencies and asserts a more positive identity. This is particularly the case as the younger generation realise that assimilationist policies are superficial because widespread discrimination demonstrates continued segregation. This generation also recognise that if the Welsh can be both Welsh and British and the Scots both Scots and British, the logic of other minorities establishing dual identities is strengthened. Also, as power relationships change in the world, the low status of what were once languages and cultures of the Empire continues to change. This change involves the acceptance by popular British culture of its own changed position relative to its former colonies.

4.2 Interculturalism

Issues of mother tongue and bilingualism lead on to the wider question of bicultural or intercultural education. After all, languages cannot be taught without accepting the cultural basis. This raises curricular issues in subjects like history and social studies, areas which are dealt with more easily at primary school level but give rise to greater difficulties at secondary school level because of the inflexibility of the examination system. In many instances religious instruction in Hebrew, or Islamic instruction in Urdu or Arabic may also increase the demand for bilingual education. However, basically, the demand for language teaching is based on purely educational grounds and do not include ones of self-esteem.

Bilingual education and its success demands the use of relevant materials which are meaningful to all children. Imported materials do not always meet this criterion and the need for local variation calls for local initiatives. The issue of teacher-education needs to be stressed again if balanced bilingual programmes are to be implemented. More use should be made of teachers from minority communities who are fluent in more than one language. Their skills can be updated through both initial as well as continuing education programmes.

5 – Linguistic Domination and Conflict

Educational policies can optimise the advantages of linguistic diversity. If such policies are devised prophylactically they can take the sting out of the negative features attributed to subordinated languages by dominant linguistic groups. This is especially the case if the dominant linguistic groups also control state power. Most societies have an enormous potential for maximising advantages of local, regional and national languages.

For much of the modern period, languages have been disappearing at a seemingly ever-increasing rate. For example, colonisation and modernisation has resulted in the demise of a large number of languages. Even today, when many accept the importance of maintaining such languages, decisions have to be taken, on the grounds of cost if nothing else, to remove governmental support from those indigenous and tribal languages with only very small numbers of speakers and/or only adult users.

The pattern of language loss is not unique. All over the globe, small language groups are disappearing, particularly if economically or politically powerless groups use them. At the same time, other languages are rapidly growing in terms of numbers of speakers, particularly Chinese and English, the latter mainly as a second language. This language loss is, of course, not new. Languages have been disappearing for as long as records of them have been kept. Even the linguistic landscape of Europe, which to an extent escaped the colonising linguistic power of European colonialism, is dotted with the memories of dead languages. Perhaps the most famous of these is Latin, but even countries so seemingly linguistically homogenous as England have Cornish and Manx as dead or nearly dead languages. In many countries the pressures of modernisation, national unity and integration lead to further pressures. Furthermore, the important role of an official Mandarin class, as in China, which used a common language with an ideographic script, provides a written unity in a nation of mutually intelligible languages and dialects.

If language history shows that languages are constantly disappearing, it also shows that other languages are growing, both in terms of numbers and in terms of adequately dealing with the vast explosion of knowledge that has characterised the last few centuries. A key example of this is the way in which English dominates scientific discourse: scientists who wish to be at the forefront of their area have to access the scientific journals, some 80% of which are published in English. This linguistic domination raises the question that apart from sentimentality, why should languages that fail to linguistically compete survive? Do not languages follow a path of linguistic Darwinism, leading to the survival of the fittest? Such questions seem harsh, but as many languages continue to decline in terms of the number of speakers, such questions need to be addressed.

As Pattanayak has written:

> 'Many languages form a national mosaic. If some petals wither and fall off or some chips are displaced from the mosaic, then the lotus and the mosaic look ugly. With the death of languages, the country will be poorer.'[29]

Such views are powerful and of a long standing nature and need increasingly to be accepted by state governments internationally. If loss of a language is a diminution of our common humanity, a further answer to the linguistic Darwinists is that languages are not commodities. Smaller linguistic communities whose languages are not in common usage in society are more likely to have their human rights diminished.

5.1 Intercultural Bilingual Education (IBE)

IBE has relevance for most societies and especially for indigenous peoples: first, to equip groups to participate as citizens of the country in which they live, and second, to support them in their right to practice and empower their own communities. Indigenous and tribal people are more likely to remain within the state if they are seen to belong and if their ways of life are validated. Exploitation of their environment and their own oppression by governments and transnationals is likely to have an opposite effect. IBE presents them with knowledge and the means to defend their interests against wider encroaching forces. It also revitalises and strengthens indigenous cultures[30].

The role of metropolitan languages in old colonised countries not only has continued, but also has currently become more pervasive with the growth of globalisation, economic interlocking and electronic media. Urbanisation also led to the development of a middle class intelligentsia who use sub-national and dominant languages like cultural entrepreneurs. In India the Bengalis, Marathi and Tamils played this role initially[31].

The ultimate goal of governments and even paternalistic and missionary organisations if to use indigenous languages as tools of assimilation. IBE paradoxically is not about destroying, but about developing and enhancing linguistic diversity and repertories. The loss of each language means the loss of a perception of the world, a way of life and a knowledge system. A meaningful bilingual education system places the learner, his (her) beliefs, values, customs, socio-economic and cultural situations, at the centre of the education process.

If IBE is constitutive of the basic structure and content of the formal education process which gradually brings in thematic areas from the dominant culture in a non-conflictual and non-substitutive way, it can assist the process of interculturalising. More importantly, in the context of majority/minority, dominant/subordinate relations, it is the majority and the dominant which also requires such understandings with the educational processes and systems[32].

National policies vary from being hostile to assimilatory to accepting. The international NGOs and some aid agencies can help in the process. This is necessary because generalised IBE from a centralised national level can be anti-democratic and deal with differences only superficially. For instance, if indigenous and tribal peoples perceive of the world holistically and therefore knowledge is seen in similar terms, then the division into subject-based divisions of the curriculum may not be suitable.

In many other cases IBE is important because of diasporas at national and inter-state levels. Small and vulnerable languages might exist in the urban milieu of many cities internationally and require educational support. Diasporas from rural areas for political economic and other considerations have exacerbated issues for smaller linguistic communities.

Many states do not teach minority languages because they fear that it will lead to demands for separation. In such cases the issue requires national agreements and appropriate educational responses. The enormous resources or skills to teach other languages may also become an impediment. In educational terms the following issues are worth considering: (a) the avoidance of language loss as mentioned above; (b) the first language provides the child with the best medium to learn at the early stages, and so literacy in the first language precedes literacy in the second; (c) the acquisition and development of the first language assists in the successful acquisition of the second (dominant, national majority or link language) – hence, the first language enhances and does not detract from learning the second language; (d) enhancing belongingness to a group, its knowledge and values in a school. The use of the first language is useful in developing an inclusive ethos. It is more difficult to marginalise children with other languages, cultures and histories from the school and its curriculum if their languages and cultures are used in the school.

There is a continuum of bilingualism, from language loss at one end to a more

43

sustained learning of a second language and the curriculum in that language. Language loss is reflected by transitional bilingualism in many countries. The other response is shelter or maintenance programmes (akin to State languages in India). In countries like Canada, many schools use immersion programmes in which dominant English-speaking children in Canada learn the French language and the curriculum in French. Here, high status language users voluntarily learn the French language, as well as the curriculum, in French. The Mauritian example of using Creole, French and English as well as Hindustani presents another model of multilingualism. In an understated way multilingualism is viewed as a national asset in literary cultural, economic and national integration terms. A similar response is necessitated in Asian countries so that languages like Tamil in Sri Lanka or Urdu in India remain alive and vibrant languages with dynamic literatures. Enlightened linguistic policies can enhance national integration and not the reverse. Linguistic assimilation may conversely increase demands for national disintegration and separation. For instance, an enlightened policy on the question of teaching Punjabi language may have obviated the Sikh/Hindu religious divide on linguistic grounds. In this case the shared cultural symbols based on language grounds have not been maximised in educational terms to establish a shared regional linguistic and cultural identity which cuts across religious divides and boundaries. In the Punjab even rural peasants and not just urban groups embody not singular but multiple identities, and schools need to validate these broader notions in schools. At the inter-state level Punjabis in India also share cultural symbols with Punjabi speakers in Pakistan who are Muslims. With the opening up of the border the two countries and regional linguistic and cultural affinities may help re-establish peace in the region.

In general, linguistic dominance prevails and is a major cause of ethnic tensions amongst groups whose languages are being excluded from the educational process. An international collation and replication of good IBE practices could help in minimising conflicts in some states. Examples of good educational practice from one context have relevance to others internationally.

Endnotes

1. Earlier versions of the paper on globalisation was presented at conferences at the Institute of Education, London and Mahatma Gandhi Institute, Mauritius in 1998.
2. Hoogvelt, A. (1997), *Globalisation and the Postcolonial World,* (Basingstoke: Macmillan).
3. Bauman, Z. (1998), *Globalisation: the Human Consequence,* (Cambridge: Polity).
4. A. Gidden. (1990), *The Consequences of Modernity,* (Cambridge: Polity), p.64.
5. S. George. (1999), *The Crises of Global Capitalism Open Society endangered,* (London: Little Brown).
6. J. Gray. (1998), *False Dawn: The Delusions of Global Capitalism,* (London: Granta Books), Paul Hurst and Grahame Thompson. (1996), *Globalisation in Question,* (Cambridge: Polity).
7. M. Waters. (1995), *Globalisation,* (London: Routledge), p.1. His assertion of processes of economic systematisation and individual social ties is open to challenge.
8. R. Robertson. (1992), *Globalisation,* (London: Sage).
9. *The Independent,* London 14-5-1998.
10. S. Amin. (1997), *Capitalism in the Age of Globalisation,* (London: Zed Press), p.6.
11. Ibid, p.6.
12. Ibid, p.42. See also, J. Mander & E. Goldsmith. (1996), *The Case against the Global Economy,* (San Francisco: Sierra Book Club).
13. See *African Development Review,* (December, 1995), Special Issue on Africa and the Future, Vol.7, No.2, (African Development Bank).
14. Amin op.cit, p.60.
15. V.S. Naipaul. (1998), *Beyond Belief: Islamic excursions among the converted peoples,* (London: Little Brown).
16. Amin op.cit p.78.
17. Various aspects of these issues are analysed in: Anthony King. (ed.) (1998), *Culture Globalisation and the World System,* (London: Macmillan); Roland Axtman. (1998), *Globalisation and Europe,* (London Printer).
18. Ibid p.80.
19. Ibid p.95.
20. See Gundara, J.S. (1982), 'Issues of Linguistic Diversity' in Russell, R. (Ed.) *Urdu in Britain,* (Karachi: Urdu Markaz), pp.7-15.
21. Sj–gren, A (ed.), (1997) *Language and Environment,* (Botkyrka, Sweden: Multicultural Centre).

22. Morris, J.B. and Ghuman, P.S. (Eds.), (1995), *Bilingualism, Educational Identity,* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press).

23. For 'good' policies and practice to support children of non-English speaking background, see Kennedy, S. And Dewar, S. (October 1997), *Non-English speaking Background children: A study of Programmes and Support of New Zealand Schools,* (Wellington: Ministry of Education).

24. Jo Bianco, J. (1987), *National Policy on Languages,* (Canberra: Commonwealth Ministry of Education). This Report identified gaps and neglect of Australia's language resources and made a case for integrated and coherent national policy.

25. Rosen, H. And Burgess, T. (1980), *The Languages and Dialects of London School Children,* (London: Wardlock).

26. Gravelle, M. (1996), *Supporting Bilingual Learners in Schools,* (Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books).

27. See, pioneering work on English-based Caribbean Creoles in London by Hewitt, R. (1986), *White Talk, Black Talk,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press) and Punjabi in South Midlands: Rampton, B. (1995), *Crossing: Language and Ethnicity Among Adolescents,* (Harlow, Essex: Longmans).

28. For a study of ten other ethnic groups in 5 Canadian cities see, O'Bryan, K.G., Reitz, J.G., Kuplowska, O.M. (1976), *Non-Official Languages: A study of Canadian Multiculturalism,* (Ottawa: Ministry of Multiculturalism).

29. Pattanayak, D.P. (1987), *Multilingualism and Multiculturalism: Britain and India,* Occasional Paper No.6, (London: International Centre for Intercultural Studies, Institute of Education, University of London).

30. Aikman, S. (1997), 'Intercultural Education in Latin America in D. Coulby, J. Gundara, C. Jones (eds.), *World Yearbook of Education: Intercultural Education,* (London: Kogan Page), pp.79-89.

31. Broomfield, J.H. (1968), *Elite Conflict in Plural Society: Twentieth Century Bengal,* (Berkeley: University of California Press) and Anil Seal. (1971), *The Emergence of Indian Nationalism,* (London: Cambridge University Press), p.45.

32. Aikman, S. (1997), op.cit.

Chapter 2
French Linguistic and Cultural Politics Facing European Identity: Between Unity and Diversity

Geneviève Zarate

Introduction

Aware of the need to play a specific role on the international level, twentieth-century France has been forever asserting her "place in the world". The nation which gave itself the mission of offering its colonies access to the Universal in the name of republican and secular faith in Reason, Progress, Civilisation and the Rights of Man continues, after the Second World War, to capitalise on these values on the international stage. The French language is administered like a symbolic capital whose value must be maintained in an international market, and its diffusion has been renewed under the ægis of a French state which has become, starting from the first half of this century, the official administrator of the French language and of the cultural values which are attached to it. With General de Gaulle, the mission of the diffusion of the French language was globalised by its association with a multinational linguistic territory, 'Francophonie'. What is to become of this inheritance in the light of the profound geopolitical rearrangement imposed by the end of this century, triggered by the end of the Cold War, the construction of Europe, and the trivialisation of cross-border circulation of people, goods and securities? How can the devaluation of this symbolic capital be checked when it is menaced by the generalised spread of English as an instrument of international communication and by the emergence of a European federalism where French culture can no longer advertise itself as offering privileged access to the Universal?

1 – A multifaceted Europe

Each European nation finds itself confronted with a new challenge: how to preserve its national heritage while at the same time giving some meaning to what is now generally called the European Union. This task of definition is being carried out on multiple levels, on the level of European organisations, to be sure, but also on that of the member states and their citizens. The Treaty of Maastricht, ratified in 1992, put in place the institutional and legal framework of the European Union. Each member state at once finds in it a guarantee of its national sovereignty and a declaration of its adherence to the common principles of democracy, as well as to economic and social union. If the European Community contributes to the development of the culture of member states, it also has the mandate of promoting European identity and of encouraging the awareness and diffusion of a specifically European culture and patrimony (Maastricht Treaty, article 128). The Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997, introduces the principle of the free circulation of persons, the Rights of Man and the fundamental liberties while fighting against "all discrimination based on gender, race, ethnicity, religion, handicap or sexual orientation". In terms of education, these two treaties have given rise to a number of initiatives: the European SOCRATES and LEONARDO programmes elaborate a number of concrete measures which encourage the learning and diffusion of the languages of member states and amplify at all levels of each educational system the cross-border mobility already encouraged by the ERASMUS (for students), COMETT (a cooperative effort between universities and the private sector), PETRA (vocational training for youth) programmes. Circulation of information is boosted by the establishment of networks designed to link together the educational institutions and their European partners. The *Green Book* (1993), *The European Dimension in Education,* the *White Book on education and training* (1995) entitled *Teaching and Learning: Towards the cognitive society,* specify the educational goals for the European citizen of the next century: mastery of three E.U. languages, promotion of distance learning and new methods of evaluation of skills, the fight against social exclusion, life-long learning. The harmonisation of degrees, and the cross-border mobility of students and teachers are the watchwords repeated both on a Community level and on the level of individual states.

Other entities take their place beside the fifteen members of the European Union: Switzerland belongs to the EEC but not to the Union. The Schengen agreement, which came into force in 1995, does away with border control between Germany, Belgium, Spain, France, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Portugal, and, since 1998, Italy and Austria too, although it has not been ratified by the U.K. Alongside this Europe under way since the 1950s, a new, post Cold War Europe is under construction after the reunification of Germany, the break-up of the republics of the former Soviet Union, the Czech and Slovak republics, the former Yugoslavia, and the multiplication of new states. New lines of demarcation are in force, some coming at the price of bloody conflicts which are the extension of a centuries-old history reclaiming its rights: the heirs to the Schism of 1054 which opposed Western Christianity, represented by the Catholic and Reformed Churches, to the Orthodox Church, which proclaims the legitimacy of its claim to the inheritance of the Byzantine Empire. Other negotiated and institutionalised regroupings (the forty member nations of the European Council, the NATO countries, the beneficiaries of the EBRD, the signatories of the Baltic Council or of the agreements of Visegrad, etc.) together make up a complex mesh of economic, political and cultural interests. With regard to geopolitics, these new frontiers map out new lines of solidarity and activate or reactivate old feelings of animosity.

2 – French identity in the face of European diversity

How is France's linguistic and cultural policy, at once dependent on her own national history, her membership in Europe and international competition, reformulated in the light of these new border configurations? French politics of influence beyond her own boundaries is currently being remodelled along the lines of that of Europe. If the enlargement of the E.U. to include the nations who are now candidates for membership[1] would confirm a primarily continental vision of Europe, the colonial heritage of the member nations competes to valorise the relationships which they have historically had with other parts of the world. How does membership in Europe modify France's perception of the Pacific region? Europe is also made up of island territories which fall into three different categories: the islands closest to the continent, such as the Channel Islands, Corsica, or the Balearic islands; the regions termed 'ultrapériphériques', for example, the four overseas departments (Guadeloupe, Guyana, Martinique and Réunion), the Azores or the Canaries; the overseas countries and territories (PTOM), with which French Polynesia and New Caledonia are associated. If these last do not form part of the territory of the E.U., the Treaty of Amsterdam (declaration 32) requires that the system of association, put in place in 1957 by the Common Market, should be reviewed before February 2000 with a view to 'taking into account the diversity and the specificity of each PTOM'.

European diversity is a political watchword on all levels and confers a new legitimacy on new types of regroupings whose unity may be constituted on a regional or linguistic basis. The regions of Europe group together regional entities which belong to more than one country: for example, northern Switzerland, Baaden Würtemberg and the southern Rhineland Palatinate in Germany, the Haut- and Bas-Rhin in France. The Atlantic circle, created in 1989, groups together 30 regions from the Algarve (Portugal) to Scotland (United Kingdom), among which also figure the French regions of Upper and Lower Normandy, Brittany, the Loire region, Poitou-Charentes, the Centre region and Aquitaine. The concern to have a western corridor as the visible counterpart of a Europe overgrown in the East, access to the sea, a developed tourist industry, a standard of living 20% lower than the European average: all these criteria structured around a shared maritime and agricultural tradition are what brings together formerly incompatible interests, between, for instance, Glasgow, Santiago de Compostella, and Nantes or Bordeaux.

Europe also represents a linguistic diversity. With the exception of the Jewish and Gypsy diasporas, Europe counts some forty linguistic minorities. Besides Belgium, France and Luxembourg, francophone Europe also includes the Walloon movement, the French-speaking Swiss cantons, the bilingual Valais and the Jura of Bern, the autonomous francophone community of Val d'Aosta, the Principality of Andorra, and the Channel Islands. While being actively involved in Europe on the level of states and regions, France is also in the process of reorienting her perception of her own territory. If the Basques and the Catalans are divided between France and Spain, the Flemish between France and Belgium, Alsace-Moselle between Germany and France, the Bretons, Corsicans, the people of Lorraine and the Occitans seek a legitimacy which four centuries of a centralising French state have denied them. At the initiative of the European Council, a *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages* has been ready for signature since 1992. Remarkably, in the light of its linguistic policy, France announced in 1998 its intention to ratify the Charter. The primary goal of the Charter is to "protect and promote minority languages as an endangered aspect of the European cultural patrimony", but, it goes on to specify, "not linguistic minorities". It is instead the "cultural dimension of regional or minority languages" which is to be promoted by the Charter's political dimension.

As a member of Europe, on which foundations do the cultural and linguistic policy of France rest? The case of regional and minority languages is a good example of the multiple possibilities which coexist in a European context and of the ambiguities which, by offering a fortuitous flexibility, permit each member state to satisfy its own needs while at the same time making common cause with one of the frames of reference legitimated by the European hallmark. In the framework of the Charter, it is essentially the 'cultural function of language' which is guaranteed. This sanctions 'the individual's right to speak his own language', but 'does not concern itself with the problems of national groups which aspire to independence or to the modification of boundaries'.[2]

3 – Cultural Diversity and European Citizenship

The Treaty of Maastricht does not define the notion of national language but in practice promotes eleven languages which have this status. On the other hand, the notion of culture receives a precise definition in article 128: 'The Community contributes to the cultural development of the member States while respecting their national and regional diversity, and at the same time highlighting the common cultural heritage'. This definition preserves the sovereignty of each state but gives the Community room to manœuvre which allows it to promote a supranational identity. This includes 'the knowledge and diffusion of the culture and history of the European peoples, conservation and protection of cultural heritage of European significance (RAPHAEL programme), cultural and commercial exchanges, literary and artistic creation, including in the audiovisual sector'. Concrete form is given to the Maastricht definition by programmes which encourage knowledge of the 'European cultural sphere', the cross-border circulation of university professionals, support for the promotion and preservation of a heritage which testifies to traditions shared between different countries. These two texts pursue a common goal, the promotion of the cultural heritage, but their effects are felt on different levels: that of the state for the first, and that of concrete actions – in the administration of museums, historic monuments, archives ... – for the second.

When the Council of Europe took a position in this debate, it did so in the name of the mission with which it is invested. Created in 1949, its objective is to 'defend the rights of man, and awareness and appreciation of European cultural identity while fighting against all forms of intolerance, to seek solutions to social problems (minorities, xenophobia, intolerance, etc.), to help the countries of Central and Eastern Europe to consolidate their political reforms'.[3] It develops a humanist and individualist conception of education. Taken globally, it favours self-development, personal growth, those social values which inscribe the individual in society: understanding of other European peoples, the fight against prejudice, reinforcement of democratic practices. The notion of citizenship is at the centre of this project and can be found in the title of the most recent (1989-1996) programme of the modern languages section of the Council, *Language learning and European citizenship*. More than the notion of heritage, it is that of respect and tolerance which is privileged by this intergovernmental organisation designed to contribute to the opening up of Europe towards the east. But it must be noted that the present direction of the Council of Europe tends to converge with that of the European Union, and the forthcoming programme envisages making proposals on the following theme: *Linguistic policy for a multilingual and multicultural Europe*.

When the European Community speaks of a 'Europe of citizens', the balance is different, reflecting the economic foundations of the community and the new social mission which it has set itself: 'Europe is not only a consumer or a player in economic and social life (...) The first right of a European citizen is to be able to work and reside anywhere in the Union. (...) From now on, cultural Europe must overtake economic Europe and contribute to the development of a shared consciousness'.[4] The free circulation of goods and people is first of all the extension of a common economic market which must eventually become a transnational labour market.

In order to weigh up the choices implied by these definitions, it is helpful to compare them with an anthropological definition of cultural diversity, quite distinct from the political ones. Dietary habits provide a good example of the contradictions which divide an economic approach, which looks at the food processing industry, from an anthropological one, which speaks of culinary traditions. The consumption of beans, cod, dairy products, and wine is the product of a history which defies national boundaries, but which is inscribed in a field of economic competition. The war which opposes French producers of fermented cheeses to the European norms which guarantee pasteurised products is but one example of the kinds of conflict which arise and of the clash of different perceptions of hygiene, of comestibles, of the raw and the cooked, etc.

The education sector is one of the major issues currently at stake in this multifaceted Europe. In this sector, the national interests of each state – and the definition of their national identity – come up against the necessity of constructing a Europe of knowledge capable of meeting international intellectual and scientific competition. In this field, it is on the university level that the process is the most advanced as far as Europe is concerned. In 1998, the German, Italian, British, and

French ministers of higher education decided, in the interest of accelerating European initiatives, to bring forward the harmonisation of curricula within a European context and to reorganise them by making three recognised levels of degrees: BAC. + 3 (licence), BAC + 5 (mastère / master's), BAC + 8 (doctorate). This declaration of principle was carried still further in France by the publication, much discussed in French public opinion, of the Commission report supervised by Jacques Attali entitled *Pour un modèle européen d'enseignement supérieur,* which carved up the present university system as a function of this new model and proposed new hierarchies and regroupings which aim to redefine the peculiarities of the French system, like the *Grandes écoles,* institutions dedicated to educating the national élite, and too specifically French to be intelligible outside of France.

But at the same time France has launched a major educational campaign, directed at other continents, to promote its higher education outside of France. By creating the EDUFRANCE agency in 1998, the French state is seeking to attract more foreign students to its higher education. Mexico, Venezuela, Brasil, the Middle East and India are the primary countries where France maintains its own presence in education fairs. The objective set by the present minister is an ambitious one: ultimately, foreign students should make up 50% of the student population in France. Behind this expression of political will, it is possible to discern a rearrangement of French activity in education directed at the international level. Adapting the anglo-saxon model, attractive but onerous for the student, France is reviving what was the spearhead of its colonial policy – to educate the elites of the world. In its attempt to regain its position in a market where it is at present not greatly valued, it has minimised the linguistic requirements which were once at the heart of an education 'à la française': mastery of the French language. Courses taught in English or bilingual French/English are suggested to compensate for the off-putting effect of what was until now a draconian requirement. While on the European level, the political rhetoric is in agreement about the institution of a "European harmonisation", international competitiveness reasserts its rights when it comes to promoting French cultural specificity outside of Europe. The English media which has reported on these developments in an occasionally francophobic tone, is not mistaken.[5]

4 – France in the face of multilingualism and multiculturalism

If the Rights of Man remain the inheritance of the French Revolution, they are no longer its monopoly. Respect for fundamental rights (male/female equality, respect for diversity of faith, abolition of capital punishment, provisions for handicapped persons, free circulation of goods and persons, etc.) is a European fact. The Treaty of Amsterdam guarantees each European citizen respect for these rights. France faces a challenge in the next century: how to broadcast its cultural specificity in the international arena when the founding principles of the diffusion of its culture and language have now been integrated within Europe?

In an article in the daily, *Le Monde,* entitled *Ce que je veux*[6] written in response to the discontent of teachers who believe themselves to be badly treated by the far-reaching reforms in progress, the current Minister for National education, Research and New Technologies undertook a delicate readjustment of what was one of the foundations of the French Republic, *l'école laïque,* established at the end of the nineteenth century by Jules Ferry: "We are far from the vision of Jules Ferry, which – exception made for the colonies – remained French; thus, for the present ministers, it is a question of educating citizens capable of taking their place in international competition. In such a context, foreign languages are bound to become familiar, cultural and scientific exchanges to intensify … (...) Even within our own country, we are confronted with a population made up of diverse ethnic groups, religions and cultures, all of whom must be united by common values if integration is to take place." This excerpt at once takes into account the concern to preserve a unilateral relationship with what is foreign (foreigners living in France must integrate French cultural values) and the profound changes in identity which are underway: the unity of the French nation must be forged within a school which recognises the multi-ethnic make-up of the population!

It is possible to measure the gaps which separate Australia, whose policy is officially multicultural, and that of France which has recognised, for the first time in its history, its multilingual and multicultural past. The French language remains the founding language of the political authority of the state. Whereas the expression 'English as a second language' applies to a large minority of Australians,[7] in France, the term French as a second language is limited to the description of French usage found in francophone countries or in the former French colonies. The introduction of multicultural television is unthinkable, even if ARTE, originally a franco-german collaboration which has now adopted a European vision – in the broadest sense – of the world, is the most advanced in this area. The French perception of linguistic and cultural pluralism has been sparked more by the opening up of Europe than by recognition of the different identities which constitute its own state. As far as regional languages are concerned, a historic cultural and linguistic heritage, is in the process of being recognised which is related to that granted for 'community languages' in Australia. There is, however, no question of considering them as languages which were established in France before the French language, as is now admitted for aboriginal languages. In France, English has become the indispensable international linguistic passport (the President of the Republic speaks in English to American business leaders!), but, as a member of Europe, it supports a deliberate policy of promotion of other community languages. It is on the basis of these important readjustments that the French state adopts a dialectic approach to national unity and cultural and linguistic pluralism.

Endnotes

1. Council of Europe. *European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages*. Strasbourg: Éditions du Conseil de l'Europe, 1993, pp.6-7.
2. Six nations have been identified by the European Commission as being the best prepared: Cyprus, Estonia, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovenia.
3. Council of Europe. Le conseil de l'Europe: activités et realisations. Strasbourg: Publications du conseil de l'Europe 1996.
4. Fontaine, P. (1998) 10 leçons sur l'Europe. Luxembourg: Office de Publications officielles des Communautés européennes. pp. 38-39.
5. For example, in the Guardian: "Even the Sorbonne is no longer what it was: conceited professors, out-of-date libraries, too many students with too little curiosity; France is losing speed" in Courrier International. N°442 (2é-28 April 1999).
6. Allegre, C. "Ce que je veux" in *Le Monde*. 6/2/1998, pp. 1 and 14.
7. Lo Bianco, J; (1987) National Policy on Languages. Commonwealth Department of Education. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service, p.97

Additional bibliography

Coste D., Moore D., Zarate G. (1998). *Compétence plurilingue et pluriculturelle* in Le Français dans le Monde. Recherche et applications. Numéro spécial Apprentissage et usage des langues dans le cadre européen.

Foucher M. (ed.), (1993). *Fragments d'Europe. Atlas de l'Europe médiane et orientale*. Paris: Fayard.

Foucher M. (1995). *Les nouveaux visages de l'Europe*. Strasbourg, Les éditions du Conseil de l'Europe.

Phillipson R. (1992). *Linguistic imperialism*. Oxford University Press.

Site Internet Edufrance: www.edufrance.fr

Chapter 3

A syntax of peace? Pragmatic constraints of language teaching and Pragmatics in language learning

Joseph Lo Bianco

> 'It is the miraculous...capacity of grammars to generate counter-factuals, 'if'-propositions and, above all, future tenses, which have empowered our species to hope, to reach far beyond the extinction of the individual. We endure, we endure creatively due to our imperative ability to say 'No' to reality, to build fictions of alterity, of dreamt or willed or awaited 'otherness' for our consciousness to inhabit...the utopian and the messianic are figures of syntax'
>
> (George Steiner 1992)

Introduction: Language Peace in Sri Lanka

At present I am engaged in a project funded by the World Bank and entitled the Education Reform Project for Sri Lanka. This broad ranging educational project contains a Second Language element which aims at:

> 'Establishing strong human relationships in the Sri Lankan society through the media of Sinhala and Tamil towards the goal of peaceful co-existence.'

The principal task of the Project is stated as follows:

> 'To design a national language education plan with a view to promoting the learning of Sinhala by Tamil students and Tamil by Sinhala students and provide guidelines to draw up respective syllabi and curriculum plans to implement the programme at both primary and secondary levels.'

Strong human relationships is code for peaceful relations and positive intercultural attitudes.

The naming extends to the third of the critical languages for Sri Lanka: English. In official parlance English is called the *Link Language,* so naming a wider social function, a function, however, which is more imagined than real.

The language planning of Sri Lanka since its independence in 1948, has aimed primarily, in common with many post-colonial experiences, to replace or at least reduce the role of English. English was seen to have deprived non-elite Sinhalese and non-elite Tamils from social opportunity and to have added to existing social divides of class, caste, religion and ethnicity of colonial serving English speakers versus tradition observing vernacular speakers.

The kind of social function English really serves, all rhetoric of link language aside, is hinted at by the commerce it has generated. This is represented in signs that the buoyant economy of private tutors and commercial language schools in Sri Lankan towns display: *English is Power, Top Boys and Girls Learn English, Learn Proper English, English for Work and Progress.*

In popular parlance the politics of English in Sri Lanka name it as *kaduwa*, a sword. A *kaduwa* whose divisive social and communicative effect is seen by many language activists in Sri Lanka as having cut off opportunity more than delivered it, and damaged cultural esteem and ethnic relations (Rajasingham-Senanayake 1998; Bailey 1998; Peiris 1999).

However, Sri Lanka's successive post-colonial attempts to redress the social divisions occasioned by the asymmetrical acquisition of English, have resulted in the kaduwa's other blade being sharpened, as the 1956 'Sinhala-only' law (despite its later modifications) have alienated many non-Sinhala speaking Tamils (Vamadevan 1996; Dharmadasa 1996). Even espoused or declared ameliorations of the severe 1956 law, such as those that have re-established a national and even official status for Tamil, have so suffered by implementation inertia, ineffectiveness, and even undermining, as to have barely redressed the initial problems (Olcott Gunasekera 1966; Samarasinghe 1996).

As late as 1999 prominent journalistic commentary is able to treat the 1956 law as though it were still in force, so pervasive have been its negative effects. The English *kaduwa* developed a Sinhala blade.

> 'A very negative feature of the language policy (the 'Sinhala Only' Act of 1956) was to perpetuate a monolingual Sri Lankan populace, within a heterogeneous society. Sinhalese and Tamils grew up living side by side but unable to communicate and the majority community attempting to force the minority to assimilate.' (Peiris 1999: 6)

1 – Peace and language and language peace

Official discourse today in Sri Lanka is governed by a grammar of peace. Peace is the underlying orientation of talk about almost every public policy issue, economic progress is dependent on the establishment of peace; the achievement of national educational goals is characterised by issues of peace and national reconciliation. Communal relations and peace, and 'peaceful co-existence', shape and characterise public talk about national culture, national futures and internal communal relations.

This is inevitable given the high price that has been paid for the policies of redressing one set of colonial inequalities with a differential set of post-colonial inequalities – a 17-year civil war, national division, appalling suffering, and ongoing mistrust among communities whose relative 'peaceful co-existence' prior to colonial occupation was both real, ancient, and linguistically mutual (Theva Rajan 1998).

The words of peace and the resolution of conflict often cite the utilisation of languages for fostering respectful intergroup attitudes, knowledge and skills. At official levels much of the work has been done. The policies read well, investigative powers have been inculcated to ensure bureaucracies comply, and public attitudes seem supportive.

2 – Swabhasha teaching

Public schools in Sri Lanka are either Sinhala or Tamil medium, while in some private schools both languages are adopted as media of instruction. The national languages (swabhasha) have not traditionally been offered as subjects for speakers of the other national language. Social and economic forces being what they are, the minority Tamil speakers have more incentive to acquire Sinhala than Sinhalese have to acquire Tamil.

The teaching of the swabhasha as second languages is a precarious innovation. My investigations have shown that most schools introduced the second language in 1999 for the first time. In a large number of cases the teachers of Tamil and Sinhala as second languages are untrained, and lament their own low proficiency in the language. The single text that exists is a grammatically simplified version of a mother tongue text, and the majority of teachers have devoted the first semester activity to the introduction of the Tamil or Sinhala alphabet via explicit presentation and drilling activities. The teachers also comment that they are keenly aware intercultural goals are foregrounded for the teaching of the swabhasha, that they share the goals of 'peaceful co-existence', but that there is little guidance as to what this constitutes in pedagogy.

Although some variation in implementation was found, the majority of schools have introduced the second language at years 6 and 9 simultaneously, the years for which the textbooks are available. This is based on the expectation that these cohorts of learners will be introduced to a new text book in each subsequent year, as these textbooks become available, such that the full secondary cycle will be involved in learning Tamil and Sinhala or Second Languages by 2001. However, some schools appear to have gone further and have introduced the second national language throughout the secondary cycle and others offer it at the primary levels as well.

The time allocation is typically two periods of 40 minutes per week (English by contrast is typically offered for five periods). The status of the second national language at the teacher training level is of a compulsory requirement of 2 hours per week for Second Language II (Sinhala/Tamil) in the Second Semester (total Semester Hours 32) of the First Year of the General Area of the Structure of the Initial Training Curriculum.

In addition, further specialised Tamil and Sinhala subjects are available for student selection as part of their three optional subjects in Grades 10 and 11 for the GCE (OL). Revised two-year syllabii are planned for introduction in Grade 10 in 2000 and Grade 11 in 2001.

The curriculum guidelines, and the National Goals for Education and National Unity, are characterised by a strong humanistic and human rights orientation. Indeed, the very first of the National Goals states: The achievement of National Cohesion, National Integrity (MEHE 1997). The second language syllabuses consist of a sequence of grammatical items, despite being located within a strong Intercultural frame.

At the time of writing I had visited sixteen schools, five Colleges of Education, and three Teachers' Colleges. Students, teachers and staff generally reacted with positive support, and often with enthusiasm for the innovation of second language teaching for "peaceful co-existence". Informal discussions also support this, with many people commenting that it is highly appropriate and even overdue (and in the highest interests of the nation) that Sri Lankan children attain a knowledge of both the national languages.

Steiner's impressive claims about language, and of grammar, in its plasticity, its ability to generate 'counter-factuals' locates within language a capacity for world-making which some may regard as extreme, while others will welcome for its passion and bold erudition. Many in Sri Lanka are Steinerians in their claims and beliefs about language, and grammar. Even its children.

3 – What the children say

The following are my records of eleven students drawn from Grade 6, and five Grade 9 classes of students in Sinhala and Tamil medium schools[1]. The comments are in response to questions about what was important for the students in relation to their learning of Tamil/Sinhala. The questions eliciting this information were asked of whole class groups as well as small groups of students in semi-structured 'focus discussions' . The First Word Responses was an exercise whereby the Sinhala and Tamil words for English, Sinhala and Tamil, were written on the class blackboard, and the students were requested to say the first things that came to mind in response to these stimulus words.

Grade Six children are typically aged 11, Grade Nine children are typically 14 years old. The quotes below are mostly taken from schools outside of Colombo as well as some urban schools in Colombo, both Sinhala medium schools in which Tamil (the minority language) has been introduced for the first time and Tamil medium schools in which Sinhala (the majority language) is being taught as a second language for the first time. The students have mostly been engaged in a rote study of the Tamil and Sinhala alphabets.

Where children's responses were made in English the precise form is preserved (and appears in italics below) otherwise the report is an immediate recording of the translation of the comments made in Sinhala or Tamil.

Reasons for studying Tamil

Boys in Sinhala Medium Schools

- Tamil is useful if some poor people want to work on the tea estates.
- I want to go as a politician, I must speak Tamil to get votes from the Tamil people
- If we have captured a terrorist camp we need information from that terrorist
- We need to translate Sinhala documents into Tamil
- In order to get herbal medicines from south India I can talk in Tamil and get the right ones
- If I want to start a business in central province in Nuwara Eliya then I must communicate in Tamil
- In order to bring peace we must learn this language
- At New Years we cook *kokis* and if Tamil people are there to give them *kokis* we must say the wishes
- There are a lot of books in Tamil and to get this knowledge I must read Tamil
- Suppose if we lose the war we have to speak Tamil
- We need Tamil to build peace in the island
- We are learning Tamil to communicate with the Tamils and the Muslims
- In Sri Lanka we are having a war and sometimes the Tamils they are destroying the temples and Buddhist things and we are learning to communicate in Tamil
- If we travel to a country where Tamil is spoken we know it
- If I become a police investigating officer if I need to get information from Tamil people I will ask in Tamil
- If there is a boy from Jaffna who wins a scholarship to [NAME OF SCHOOL] I can talk to him and welcome him to my school
- I think there are no differences between the majority and minority community and if I learn Tamil I can stop the differences
- If I go to Jaffna I can say: Why are you fighting a war against us?
- If I go to North East Province I can talk to Tamil people
- In future we will be one Sri Lankans and we must communicate

Girls in Sinhala Medium Schools

- Because *(I)* have a Muslim friend
- So I can communicate with Tamils on journeys
- When I am grown up I must take examinations in Tamil so I can do that
- I can teach Tamil to others who don't speak Tamil
- *I see Tamil (TV)*
- There is a BharatNatyam dancer in [NAME OF TOWN]
- *I watch the (MTV Tamil dramas)*
- It is easy to learn Tamil
- *I like learn Tamil. Easy than English.*
- *Make peace in Sri Lanka.*

- On the tea plantations there are Tamils.
- Useful because Tamil is deteriorating because many students don't speak it
- I don't know anyone who speaks Tamil
- I have no chance to meet Tamils
- I know a small boy who is a Tamil but he doesn't speak it with me
- If I learn Tamil I can talk to Tamils in the whole island
- *Very useful in my life*
- I prefer Tamil
- *Tamil easy to learn*
- Tamil is like a dying species. We want to safeguard all dying species

Responses to stimulus words from children studying Tamil in Sinhala Medium Schools

Sinhala:

I feel affection for my nation/ It makes me respect my nation/ It makes me think of Sinhalese courage/ Of brave people/Makes me think of our national heroes/Reminds me of the ancient works we have done/Sinhalese culture/Emotion for the nation/ Courage/Makes me have 'special respect'/ My language/Must teach Sinhala to the Tamils/Must spread Sinhala to other countries/ We must have a high esteem for our language/In Sri Lanka Sinhala is the main language/I want to teach foreigners and Tamils Sinhala.

Tamil:

Feeling to unite the Sinhalese and Tamils/I feel the Chola invasion[2]/To get together and talk of peace/Friendship/ War/Peace/We need unity/ It is not used here/Tamil is deteriorating/Even in other countries Tamil is spoken/It is used by our sisters and brothers.

English:

They destroyed our discipline, culture and everything/Sinhalese morals and culture were damaged by English people/English built this fort and used Sri Lankan labour and oppressed us/English opened up the taverns and brought liquor and beef-eating habits and other immoral acts/Destroyed our temples and Vihara/They took our resources/Very capable people/International language/International language/Most countries speak English/I need a high knowledge of English/Many people speak English.

Reasons for studying Sinhala

Boys in Tamil Medium Schools

- I learn Sinhala for protection. I must speak good Sinhala so the police and army won't harass me
- It is a nice language

- So I can converse with a Sinhalese person and offer help
- For emergencies. To use it when things go wrong
- Because Sinhala is the national language of Sri Lanka
- So I can join the army. I can get in the army better if I know Sinhala
- It is a problem to have two languages because each thinks his language is better. If we had one language there would be no communal riots
- Because it is the majority language
- It is the national language
- If I want to get work I need to speak Sinhala
- *My friends are Sinhala and I talk to them*
- *To speak to friends* (many similar statements)
- Sinhala helps you in later life
- To sign things
- To find employment
- If I want to make a complaint to the police that a robbery was in my house
- Because it is essential
- Because Sinhala is the government

Girls in Tamil Medium Schools

- To know the alphabet
- Because there are two languages in Sri Lanka and each must know the other. Only then will there be interaction
- To buy things in shops
- To speak to friends (many similar statements)
- To find a job
- I want to know many languages
- Sinhala is necessary and essential in Sri Lanka
- It must be the second language for the Tamils
- It is the important language of the country

Responses to stimulus words from children studying Sinhala in Tamil Medium Schools

Sinhala:

It is the majority language/It helps me to share my happiness and sorrow because I know two languages/I can talk to the other community/Sinhala is one of the languages of my country/ Sinhala is the national language of Sri Lanka/ Because there is a war in this country and we must know Sinhala in Colombo/ It helps me to communicate/ Harder to learn than English.

Tamil:

Tamil is a national language in Sri Lanka/My mother tongue/Tamil is my mother tongue/Tamil is spoken all over the world/ Just as much as Tamil is my mother tongue

I want Sinhala to be my father tongue/There are a lot of poets in Tamil/ A lot of classics are in Tamil/ Ancient times writing in Tamil/I can learn about some great people in Tamil/ Tamil is a difficult language/One is able to read a lot of Hindu *puranas* in Tamil/I like to learn the culture because the language contains the culture/ I speak Sinhala, English and Tamil at home but Tamil more/ Our mother tongue/ Must respect Tamil/There are normal questions in Tamil/ I feel interaction with my parents in Tamil/ Lullabies in Tamil/I was born and bred a Tamil/It is a very good language/Teachers talk Tamil/Tamil helps you to learn.

English:

International Language/Language in many countries/To fulfil my needs/To help me to talk to person from other country/ I feel happy when I speak in English, because I can/I like to communicate/ It is a very good language/ When I go for an interview I will be helped with English/ It helps us in interviews/ It is a common language/ International language/ Only has 36 letters/ Easy to learn/ Easier to write/ Easier to speak than Sinhala/ Travel abroad/English is everywhere/ Interview somebody on Television.

What is impressive about the display of human sensitivity among the students, is the extent to which for them language, both the First Word Associations, and indeed their own reasons and purposes for studying the language, are so enmeshed with cultural-societal associations. Helping a boy from Jaffna is not merely evidence of kindness (though this it certainly is) it is also a display of intercultural empathy, and a sophisticated form of projection. Second language however, is also about 'protection', shopping, careers and judgments, about self and other groups.

4 – Steiner's logic

If nothing else, Steiner's logic compels us to reexamine the almost obsessive preoccupations of the language teaching enterprise with making scientific and technical advances in pedagogy. Sooner or later technicians run into culture.

If the utopian and the messianic are figures of syntax, it seems reasonable to ask whether 'peaceful co-existence', an ambition of both idealism and messianism in Sri Lanka today, can be advanced through studying the language of the other. The learners appear convinced that it can.

5 – Techniques and goals of language learning

The re-examination of applied linguistics, especially of language teaching and learning in its inability to operationalise the culture-dimension of language study, is vastly overdue.

Techniques, no matter how researched, well described and polished, cannot make communication effective, cannot make connotative meanings natural, and ultimately cannot make contact in the space where both the learner and the 'native' create a hybrid point of interaction.

This is why all language learners understand more than they produce, perceive and receive, and process more language input than they emit. We cannot know and control others' language but we are in control of what we can, and do, say and write.

Language in use therefore, exhibits a kind of pyramidal structure, with a wide base on which we operate as active listeners and readers, processing others' messages and meanings, with more honed and narrowed competencies required for the production of our own meanings which it is then up to others to negotiate.

The pragmatic constraints of language use, communicating with others whose life experiences, values, interests and ideas are necessarily particular makes us run up against the constraints of Pragmatics. By this I mean that we necessarily generate the principles for the interpretation of meanings and offer these with our messages.

Pragmatics is that sub-discipline of language studies (or linguistics) which deals with real-life communication. It exists because a-social and mentalist theories of language have little to offer us when we wish to understand the problems of language in use.

The problem of culture teaching in the second language classroom is often addressed, at least by researchers via exercises in comparative presentation and discussion of the norms, both socio-cultural and pragmatic, of the two languages, the base language of the learner and the target language of the curriculum. This approach is reminiscent of the grammatical contrastive studies of the 1960s in which it was supposed that points of greatest difference between two scientifically described languages would constitute the points of appropriate intervention.

However, subsequent research indicated that degree of distance does not always constitute learning difficulty and that, on its own, such an approach would impoverish the quality of linguistic input to learners. Intercultural language teaching approaches sometimes cast the teacher into the role of cultural interpreters, mediating between the language-culture systems and explaining points of differences and similarity.

Transferring such an approach to points of culture is to some extent inevitable and indeed productive. Teachers will be requested by learners to explain why things are, or are not said, this or that way. The explanations will always make reference to the envelope of socio-cultural and pragmatic norms and processes that make communication possible in given language systems. The explicit introduction of greeting formulae, (for example *Ayubowan* in Sinhala and *Vanakam* in Tamil) necessitates explanations as to the expectations of the participants that farewells are temporary and always predicated on the expectation of a new greeting in the near future, and the required proxemic and kinesic accompaniment. In these kinds of ways, without being explicitly set out, presentational pedagogy, and contrastive cultural analysis, already features in Tamil and Sinhala second language teaching. Indeed for communicative effectiveness the presentation must also be culturally sympathetic since the taught form, linguistic and socio-pragmatic, would not succeed if it were not implemented in a standardised way.

In addition, all Sri Lankan children have a form of natural triangulation available to them. Since all Sri Lankan children study English, and (apart from English loan words in both Tamil and Sinhala English has little structural, lexical, socio-pragmatic affinity with the swabhasha) all children have a weekly reminder that Tamil and Sinhala have long influenced each other. Sinhala and Tamil have been longstanding proximates on the island, despite their genetic differences (Sinhala is an Indo-Aryan language, Tamil is Dravidian). Many of the Sinhalese children spoken to commented that, although to learn Tamil and English they must learn a new alphabet, the English writing system is less intuitive for them. While Tamil and English writing are prominent all over Sri Lanka, the alpha-syllabic nature of Tamil, and its shared orthographic origins with Sinhala (both are derived from Brahmi script in which consonant graphemes imply a following inherent vowel, unless marked for its absence), is a contrast that the learners immediately identify.

In these ways swabhasha teaching inevitably is an exercise in interculturalism. The target language study offers therefore related and more different systems of articulating and regulating social relations and how linguistic management of human relations occurs. In addition, the English-Sinhala contrast offers the potential for a Sinhala-Tamil connection.

However, it does need to be stressed that there is no structured exploration of these possibilities and the syllabuses, texts and guidelines available to teachers are based on an assumption that intercultural empathy, understanding and 'peaceful co-existence' will be enhanced in some sort of inevitable way from the mere experience of learning the language of the other.

6 – Culture and competency

WE can visualise language competences as a nested set of circles, with various language or culture-specific kinds of interaction competence being the most central. A central aim in any language learning endeavour, is human interaction. Even if our purpose is to study Pali to read Buddhist scriptures, rather than to communicate with any living Pali speaker, interaction is central to the task. In this case the interaction is with 'ideas', given as life-messages, preserved and catalogued as a philosophy of life lived by millions of people.

The kind of interaction that this affords is an insight into what Jayasuriya (1990 [after Williams (1977:63)] argues is not a fixed autonomous cultural entity but is best understood as 'an interrelated configuration of *archaic, residual* and *emergent cultures*'. This definition can be useful to language teachers as it can help trace the origins of cultural behaviours in individual interactions.

- The *archaic culture* carries the past-historical patterns that have at least a symbolic value and sometimes a communicative value in their recirculation as what the philosopher Antonio Gramsci called common sense, ie the interpretive philosophy of everyday life available to us in what we receive from past interpretations of the same phenomena.

- The *residual culture* refers to the lived and current patterns of behaviour.
- The *emergent culture* identifies the possibility of change, contest and negotiation of culture, and in language takes the form of new words, expressions, or of the ways in which ideological shapings of language seek to become the 'natural' form, ie to become residual.

This sense of culture as having both solidity and fluidity is immensely important in that the 'if'-propositions which Steiner identifies can be recruited to create new meanings, new possibilities, while the inherited culture allows us to see how there is continuation and reproduction of old forms. In Sri Lanka a strong 'if'- proposition characterises all languages talk, that of finding a new national discourse which is inclusive and transcending.

Jayasuriya (1990:14) comments that 'the manifest culture revealed in individual behaviour is selective, and not necessarily representative of an historical cultural tradition in its abstract form'. Selectivity in this sense removes individuals from the heavy assumption that cultural patterns constrain individuals, and also from the deterministic assumption that culture is set and solid. Individuals both share and shape culture, are made by it, and in each instantiation of a cultural pattern's reproduction it is either confirmed or changed.

In this respect Byram's definition of an interculturally competent person is helpful:

> "An intercultural speaker is someone who can operate their linguistic competence and their sociolinguistic awareness of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used, in order to manage interaction across cultural boundaries, to anticipate misunderstandings caused by difference in values, meanings and beliefs, and thirdly, to cope with the affective as well as cognitive demands of engagement with otherness (Byram 1995).

It can sometimes appear that only advanced learners of a language can attain goals of intercultural competence. However learners, as the Sri Lankan children prove, are motivated and reflect on intercultural and intergroup relations from the very beginning of their language study. While performing supervised exercises of writing Tamil verbs on the blackboard several students commented: 'Oh they do it like that, we do it…'. This verbal accompaniment of a seemingly rote activity indicates an awareness of the culturally infused character of all parts of language, of the group-centred theory about language (they/we) and of the awareness of the inseparability of a language from its community of users.

The constraints that speech communities place on language are the zone where culture infuses speech. Constraints are those rules (of grammar, usage and interpretation) which insert into the unregulated divergence of speech forms the controls that permit standardisation. Standardisation is essential for communication. The solidarity function of language would otherwise cause continual divergence and differentiation of forms. The constraints required to standardise language for effective communication are therefore are cultural systems that impose order onto speech and writing and which are reflections of the choices of given speech communities. Language has an overarching governance form, which is the cultural and social context that produces it, purposefully.

An investigation of constraints, ie the **pragmatics** of communication, is an investigation of the realm of culture in language. This aspect of culture in language is looming as a paradigm change within applied linguistics. Past attempts at picking out this field of the language enterprise have been either weakly descriptive or sophisticated but not useable within educational contexts.

Conclusion

The relation between language and intercultural competence is one whose exploration has taken a new and richer turn in recent years. Among the many stimuli that have given it life has been the persistent intuition that language learning is more deeply transformative, at least potentially, than past conceptualisations of language have acknowledged. Communicative methods and approaches need, more explicitly and robustly, to incorporate cultural phenomena, and communication as a cultural phenomenon, and communication in different languages as an intercultural phenomenon, than has been the case. More grammatically oriented, or structure oriented, methods and approaches can also be enriched with the burgeoning realisation that language and cultural practices are inseparable, and that all parts of language are instantiations of culturally motivated selections from the myriad of possible forms.

The fact that language is inextricably infused with culture in its deepest and widest forms does result in guaranteed, inevitable, or automatic intercultural competence, empathy, capability or interest. Intercultural harmony, not to mention 'peaceful co-existence' requires explicit, systematic and deliberate attention in programs of foreign language study. In our developing understanding of this I would make a plea that we involve learners along with researchers, whose more ethnographically oriented studies will reveal contrastively relevant items of knowledge, and teachers, who when facing the pragmatic constraints of pragmatics, ie why things are the way they are, will offer hypotheses relevant to the goal of intercultural competence via language study.

Endnotes

1. I wish to thank Mr Sabapathy Sivagurunathan and Mrs Pushpa Sivakumaran for interpreting and facilitating these interviews.
2. Refers to ancient invasions of Sri Lanka from the South Indian Chola rulers.

References

Bailey, R.W., (1998), *Majority Language, Minority Misery: The Case of Sri Lanka*, pp 106-223 in Kibbee, D.A., (ed) *Language Legislation and Linguistic Rights*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Byram, M. (1995). *Intercultural Competence and Mobility in Multinational contexts: A European View*. Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Dharmadasa, K.N.O., (1996), (ed) National Language Policy in Sri Lanka, 1956 to 1996. *Three Studies in its Implementation*. Kandy: International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

Dharmadasa, K.N.O.,(1996), *Language Policy in a Multi-Ethnic Society: The Case of Sri Lanka*. Pp 1-17 in Dharmadasa (ed).

Jayasuriya, K. (1990). *The problematic of culture and identity in cross-cultural theorising.*, Department of Social Work and Social Administration. University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Fineline Perth.

MEHE 1997 (Ministry of Education and Higher Education) . *Reforms in General Education*. Sri Jayawardenapura: Sri Lanka.

Theva Rajan, A., (1998), (2nd edition) *Tamil as Official Language, Retrospect and Prospect*. Colombo: International Centre for Ethnic Studies.

Olcott Gunasekera, R.G.G., (1996), *The Implementation of the Official Language Policy*, 1956-1970. Pp 17-79, in Dharmadasa (ed).

Samarasinghe, S.G., (1996), *Language Policy in Public Administration, 1956-1994: An Implementer's Perspective*. Pp 79-113, in Dharmadasa (ed).

Vamadevan, V., (1996), *Tamil in Public Administration*. Pp 113-142.

Rajasingham-Senanayake, D., (1998), *The Sinhala Kaduwa: Language as a Double Edged Sword and Ethnic Conflict*. Colombo: Pravada p15-19.

Peiris, H., (1999), *Language, Barriers that can crumble*, p 6, (Sri Lanka) Daily News, Saturday May 15.

Steiner, G., (1992), *After Babel: Aspects of Language and Translation* (second edition) Oxford University Press.

Chapter 4
Language and Intercultural Competence

Richard Lambert

Introduction

In Australia, Europe, and the United States there is a prolonged discussion underway about the most appropriate way of providing cultural context in foreign language instruction. In the United States, the discourse has developed to the point that the American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages has supplemented its widely-used proficiency test with a set of standards prescribing the nature and extent of cultural knowledge that should accompany various levels of language competency. The recently-revised New York State standards for competency in languages other than English contained a similar set of benchmarks, requiring specific levels of cultural competence at various grade levels. Similarly, the new Council of Europe's 'framework for learning, teaching, and assessing modern languages' (Council of Europe 1998) links what it calls "pluralingual" and "pluracultural" competences. In Australia, the preparation of this book is one evidence of the growing attention to this topic.

It is less clear, however, just how culture is to be infused into language instruction, what items to include, and to what effect. In spite of the growing interest there are few rigorous, research-based analyses indicating the most appropriate mix of cultural and linguistic features in foreign language instruction. In particular, there is little consensus as to why language instruction must be embedded in a cultural context. The conceptual apparatus supporting informed judgment is surprisingly weak. Teachers often must decide individually, and on an ad hoc basis, what cultural materials should be introduced into their classes and how they should be taught. Frequently, these decisions are left to text book authors and publishers, whose grounds for judgment are no more secure.

In making decisions as to what the content and amount of cultural infusion into language teaching should be, teachers may find it helpful to look outside the field of language instruction. Of particular relevance are the discussions (Lambert 1994a; van der Wende 1996) currently underway in the United States and in Europe as to the goals and measurable outcomes of international studies more generally. While such analyses tend to be focused on international student exchanges, the quintessential mix of cultural and language learning, they do deal in a systematic way with the desired outcomes of international education more generally. Of special interest is a series of discussions held at the 1993 annual meeting of the Council on International Educational Exchange. The theme of the meeting was 'global competence,' which I take to be the equivalent of the 'intercultural competence' referred to in the title of this volume. The agenda paper for that conference (Lambert 1994b), undertook to parse the concept of 'global competence,' both to define it and to identify its component parts. The other papers in the symposium examined global competence from the perspective of a number of countries and disciplines.

Some of the conceptual apparatus that emerged from that conference may be relevant to the introduction of cultural materials into language instruction. Indeed, several of the papers in the symposium were dedicated to this topic.

In analysing the concept of global competence a distinction was drawn between knowledge about other societies and the set of attitudes and skills that a globally competent person should possess. Three sets of attitudes and skills were identified: empathy, approval, and task performance. It may be helpful to use this framework in analysing language and intercultural competence. Throughout this paper I will suggest a number of critical research questions that flow from such an analysis.

1 – Knowledge of other societies and cultures

Currently, among foreign language teachers most of the discussion about the production of intercultural competence is focused on this first component of intercultural competence: what knowledge about another culture or, more rarely, cultures more generally should be included in foreign language education? Theoretically, almost all of culture is related to language and conversely language provides access to most aspects of culture. Hence, if the goal is to present the full social and cultural context for language behaviour, then the complete range of materials covered in each of the social sciences and humanities should be included in foreign language classes. Or perhaps, as in area studies programs, language instruction should be nested in a wide range of disciplinary courses dealing with the country where the language is spoken. In practice, the extent of cultural infusion into language instruction depends upon how similar that country is to the learner's own society. The problem of what to teach about the cultural and social context of a language is most acute where the culture, and more particularly the language, have few cognates to ones own (Jorden 1999); e.g., Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Swahili. In cases where very large portions of another culture must be given as part of language instruction, the coverage and analytic approach of the social sciences may provide some guidance. For instance, in the United States the teachers of African languages collaborated with anthropologists to create a framework for the preparation of teaching materials, a framework in which the cultural context came first and directed the linguistic materials. Further, for non-cognate languages it is often necessary to teach the learner about the different role of language in the society as well as the specific features of the language itself.

The other extreme comprises cultures that are very similar to one's own. Here, the introduction of cultural materials in language classes can be limited to those items that are most closely related to the actual speech act. In addition, the amount of cultural materials to be introduced is influenced by the level of instruction and the range of uses to which the language is to be put. The Council of Europe's 'threshold method', where the goal of language instruction is to allow the learner to cope with a society as a foreign visitor, is an example of this approach.

Aside from these extremes of cultural similarity, level of instruction, and complexity of function, there is little guidance currently available on what cultural knowledge is essential to foreign language learning. The one exception is the debate among language teachers about the relative emphasis to be put on abstract vs. quotidian culture traits, high or low 'c'. (Steele 1999). It seems clear that cathedrals, museums and the history of dynasties are no longer in favour. It is less clear what else should be taught and why. We do not even have an answer to the question of how much and what kind of cultural knowledge enhances language competence *per se*, let alone what produces intercultural competence.

As a result of our *ad hoc* way of proceeding, we have a large number of *de facto* experiments on the effect of introducing various kinds and amounts of cultural materials into language teaching. It would be a useful research objective to examine these mini-experiments to see what differences result in the ability to communicate in another language.

2 – Empathy

If the full goal of language instruction is to create intercultural competence, then language teaching must attend to the creation of a set of attitudes and skills as well as cultural content. The first of these attitudes is what might very generally be called intercultural empathy, that is the ability to see matters as the other speaker would. In recent years in the United States this general trait is often referred to as ethnorelativism, the other extreme from ethnocentrism. One statement (Bennett 1986, p.27) captures this notion:

> 'Fundamental to ethnorelativeness is the assumption that cultures can only be understood relative to one another. There is no absolute standard of 'rightness' or 'goodness' that can be applied to cultural behaviour. Cultural difference is neither good nor bad. It is just different. One's own culture is not any more central to reality than any other culture, although it may be preferable to a particular individual or group.'

Thus stated, the full goal of ethnorelativism as thus defined may be beyond what most language teachers hope to accomplish. It was written to refer to the effects of study abroad. Nonetheless, it does dramatise the kind of cultural relativism that the introduction of cultural materials into language instruction might seek to achieve. This de-parochialising effect of foreign language instruction is particularly relevant in countries like Australia or the United States where it is unlikely that a large proportion of the population will either develop sufficient competence or have the opportunity to actually use a foreign language.

The service of language instruction in the production of transcultural empathy deserves much more research evidence than is now available. It is especially important that such research establish the connection between the learning of a little bit of one language – the situation that faces most learners – and the generalised cultural broadening and ethnorelativism now included in the rationale for foreign language study. It may be true, although the empirical evidence on this point is rather weak (Wilkins 1987), that the very act of studying a foreign language is mind-broadening. However, it might also be helpful to use this outcome as one of the criteria for selecting cultural materials to include in language instruction, and in the manner in which it is taught.

3 – Approval

The goal of producing general cultural relativism may be too broad for most language teaching. In particular, since at most one other culture is being considered, the most that can be expected is that the learner will view the other society favourably. At least it is to be hoped that the negative stereotypes will be dispelled. As the proceedings in many rancorous divorce cases will indicate, there is no necessary link between possessing immense amounts of information, or even empathy, and approval of another culture. All too often, these are assumed to be the same thing. As a case in point, the first benchmark in the New York State guidelines for cultural learning associated with language competence (Curriculum, Instruction, and Assessment Committee 1995) is instructive.

> 'Knowledge: The student demonstrates knowledge of a variety of aspects of the target culture and can reliably distinguish between idiosyncratic and culturally authentic patterns of behaviour.
>
> Skills: The student interacts positively in a wide variety of situations with people and/or ideas (e.g. authentic vs. adapted text) from the other culture.
>
> Attitudes: The student has the willingness to emulate and adopt some of the relevant behaviours and perspectives of the target culture.'

This easy correlation between knowledge, empathy and favourableness is not automatic. One of the startling findings of the review of ERASMUS, the Commission of the European Union Community's exchange program, was that '...if small differences are taken into account, an average change towards a slightly more negative attitude regarding the host country and a slightly more positive attitude toward the home country could be observed.' (Maiworm, et.al., 1991, p. 156).

The point to be made here is that if one of the goals of learning another country's language is to enhance the language learner's approval of that country, or, if alternatively, a positive attitude toward the country enhances language learning, the goal cannot be assumed to flow automatically. It must be deliberately sought. How this may best be accomplished is another major agenda for targeted research.

4 – Task Performance

Cultural knowledge, empathy, and approval may be goals in the production of more generalised language skills that are useful in a wide variety of contexts. In the case of the Threshold Method, and indeed in most introductory text books now, the implicit purpose of the selection of materials is the preparation of the learner to be able to use the language as a foreigner coping in a wide variety of contexts. In contrast to this general purpose language instruction, language teaching for more specialised, particularly vocational use is of increasing importance (Lambert 1991). In more and more countries, the frontier in foreign language instruction has moved from general language instruction to what is called language for special purposes. For instance, the development of vocationally-oriented language instruction has been the primary focus of the European Community's Lingua Program, and is a principal developmental theme on the Council of Europe's current language agenda. Much of the attention in these initiatives focuses on business needs, although there are also major efforts to develop foreign language instruction for engineers and various kinds of clerical workers.

Several countries have taken a number of major policy steps to deal with this perceived need for greater occupational foreign language competency. These include the setting of standards for occupational use of languages, monitoring progress, and funding the development of new programs. For example, the British established a governmental organisation called the Language Lead Body to develop standards for judging the level of language competency needed by various occupations. A manual, entitled *Standards for Language: Units of Company Assessment and Guidance* (Language Lead Body, 1992), is used as a guide both for employers and for job applicants as well as setting standards for the certification of foreign language instructional providers. In addition to surveying, advocacy, and the setting of standards, many European countries have established training programs such as England's Further Educational Council whose principal function is to provide language training for occupational use.

There are three points to be made concerning these recent developments. First, most are taking place either in post secondary – mainly in pre-professional education – or in proprietary schools completely outside of the formal educational system. The second point is that language instruction in these domains has to produce intercultural competence that is much more specific. Third, the success of that vocationally-oriented language instruction tends to be much more subject to empirically-based judgment of what works best. Of particular relevance in the current context, is that inclusion of cultural materials can be drawn from the careers of those who have worked in those occupations, and can be fined-tuned based on the experience of graduates.

The more specific focus of vocationally-oriented language training and its potential for empirical feedback as to what works best, can provide important insights into the more general question of how to make foreign language instruction more effective in promoting intercultural competence. It is unfortunate that the architecture of our educational system tends to separate vocational from most mainstream language instruction in our schools. If we are truly serious about achieving the optimal infusion of culture in foreign language instruction more generally, experience in the two bodies of instruction must become mutually supporting.

Conclusion

We should take the topic of this paper, language and intercultural competence, as an agenda, not as an established body of knowledge. We cannot assume that foreign language study will automatically produce intercultural competence. Indeed, a major national sample survey of college seniors in the United States (Barrow, et. al., 1981) showed almost no correlation between past study of a foreign language and student scores on a large number of knowledge and attitudinal items measuring global understanding. Our strategy will have to be a more deliberate one. We will have to look more closely at what the specific components of intercultural competence are and how they may best be promoted through foreign language instruction. It is hoped that the recent scholarship in international studies, in other academic disciplines, and in vocationally-oriented foreign language instruction can inform our deliberations. An examination of such epistemological discussions of international education can be helpful in clarifying how and why cultural materials can best be included in foreign language instruction. And above all, we need to examine, codify, and draw much more rigorous conclusions from our current experience mixing language and culture, and develop an empirical agenda for future research and development.

References

Barrow, Thomas S. et. al., (1981). *College Students' Knowledge and Beliefs: A Survey of Global Understanding.* New Rochelle, N.Y.: Change Magazine Press.

Bennett, Milton J., (19860. "Toward Ethnorelatism: A Developmental Model of Intercultural Sensitivity." In Michael Page, ed. *Cross-cultural Orientations: New Conceptions and Applications.* Lantham, MD: University Press of America, Inc.

Committee on Curriculum, Instruction, and Assessment, (1995). *A Framework for Languages other than English (LOTE).* New York: State Education Department.

Council for Cultural Cooperation, (1998). *Modern Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. A Common European Framework of Reference.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Jorden, Eleanor H., (1999). "Acquired Culture in the Japanese Language Classroom," in Richard D. Lambert 1999.

Lambert, Richard D., (1991). *A National Plan for a Use-Oriented Foreign Language System.* Washington, D.C.: National Foreign Language Center

Lambert, Richard D., (1994a). *Educational Exchange and Global Competence.* New York: Council on Educational Exchange.

Lambert, Richard D., (1994b) "Parsing the Concept of Global Competence." in Richard D. Lambert, 1994a.

Lambert, Richard D., (ed.) (1999). *Foreign Language Policy and Pedagogy.* Amsterdam: Benjamins. 1999.

Languages Lead Body, (1992). *National Language Standards.* London: LLB, CILT.

Maiworm, Friedhem, Wolfgang, Steube, and Teichler, Ulrich, (1991). *Learning in Europe: The ERASMUS Experience.* Brussels: The Erasmus Bureau.

Steele, Ross, (1999). *"Issues of Culture and Intercultural Competence."* in Richard D. Lambert 1999.

Van der Wende, Marjik C., (1996). *Internationalising the Curriculum in Dutch Higher Education: an International Comparative Perspective.* The Hague: Netherlands Organisation for International Cooperation in Higher Education.

Wilkins, David, (1987). *The Educational Value of Foreign Language Learning.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe, Council for Cultural Cooperation.

Chapter 5

Global/Local Englishes: Building Intercultural Competence for Global/Local Markets

Michael Singh and Linda Singh

Introduction

Since the late 1980s the Australia-wide project of internationalising teachers' work has been gradually gaining pace. This project has moved slowly in response to the rapid changes in the transnational political economy; dramatic shifts in (international) student demand; amazing technological developments in information delivery and the crisis in the ideological legitimation of the nation-state. In the post-Cold War era this project is engaging with the complex, overlapping and disjunctive trajectories of globalisation and localisation. For instance, the global spread of English due to British imperialism and US/American neo-colonialism in particular has, through local differences and resistance, produced as much flux as stability in the language. Rather than speaking of 'global English' as associated with the 'English-only' movement, our preference, therefore, is the idea of 'global/local Englishes'.

There are two other key indicators that are suggestive of the incremental and contested changes associated with the internationalisation of English language teaching (ELT). First, this post-1989 project now addresses a diverse range of local interests having a global orientation including businesses, government agencies, transnational community organisations, migrant service providers, and diasporic communities with networks around the world. Certainly the Australian education industry is searching for new markets worldwide; and Australia's role in the transnational ELT business is significant in this context. Finally, this project has moved beyond the concerns of the 'international relations' curriculum which addressed issues of diplomacy, war and security, through issues of global economy, to include the study of the cultural dimensions of global flows of money, technology, people, media, risks and ideas. Now there is increasing attention being given to how culturally diverse peoples in different localities use English. They use English variously to construct meanings about the global/local dimensions of their lives; to represent themselves in relation to the processes of globalisation/localisation, and to actively deal with the complex global/local dilemmas in which they are embedded.

In this Chapter we examine the intercultural competencies now needed by those involved in the ELT business for engaging in transnational markets. We focus on the links between the globalisation/localisation of English and the responsiveness of the Australian education industry to the teaching of global/local Englishes internationally. In doing so we discuss some of the links between the complexities of global/local Englishes and the marketing of ELT products and services globally, including reference to localising effects of ethnicity and cultural diversity. We argue that the imperialist trajectory involved in the worldwide spread of English has not led to a singular, homogenous global English, but the emergence of heterogeneous global/local Englishes owned by many culturally different peoples. This now means that Australia's transnational ELT business needs to be more attentive and responsive to the different uses culturally different clients make of complex global/local Englishes. It is in this way that we seek to tactically interpret and engage with the worldwide spread of English and the rise of the transnational ELT business, problematic though both of these maybe.

The argument developed in this Chapter is structured around a consideration of four intercultural, work-place competencies that now seem to be required of managers and teachers involved in Australia's transnational ELT business. The first competence calls for the ability to reinterpret and analyse this niche provider within the Australian education industry in terms of its products and services, markets, competition and sales techniques. The second competence focuses on the need for increased awareness of target markets, and offers a preliminary exploration of the uses to which ELT products and services are put by culturally different customers in various contexts. The third section focuses on the intercultural competence required to address problems of risk management arising from client resistance to ELT products and services. This resistance is situated within localised socio-political and cultural questions about the historical and contemporary spread of English globally. The final section, which is future-oriented, considers the intercultural competence required for re-positioning the products and services of the Australian ELT business by foregrounding the benefits of being responsive to client interests.

The Transnational English Language Teaching Business

While knowledge re-production and dissemination are still key functions of education institutions, such knowledge increasingly has value and legitimacy only in so far as it attracts and serves a global (fee-paying) client. This is due to the increasing privatisation of education. Within the capitalist economic sphere more and more aspects of education and training are being commodified, including curricula, courses, instructional materials, teaching methods and educational theories. The commercial value of ELT lies not only in the benefits it brings to global businesses, but also in being a good business itself. The ELT business includes everything from university-based English language providers through private colleges of English to publishers. Therefore, one of the intercultural competencies now needed by those working in the ELT business is a sophisticated understanding of the dynamics of this globalised service industry, including its products and services, competition and sales techniques.

ELT products and services

The transnational ELT business is a massive industry that supplies a diverse range of products and services to speakers of other languages, prime amongst these being 'standardised English'. Here it is worth noting that the process of standardising or rationalising spoken and then written English in order to achieve 'linguistic correctness' began in Britain several centuries ago and continues to be a matter of considerable dispute (Williams 1965:237-253). It involved the rising middle class of England in both developing 'a model' (rather than common) language for both functional convenience and to assert class distinctions. These social divisions have since been reinterpreted and elided as distinctions between the educated and the uneducated. Raymond Williams (1965:247) defined standardised English as a tool that has made 'thousands of people ... capable of the vulgar insolence of telling other Englishmen [sic] that they do not know how to speak their own language'. In addition varieties of standardised Englishes, other worldwide exports include ELT teachers; theories and methods of ELT teaching, and ELT materials, books and courses. Another important product is English for Special Purposes such as business, science and technology, health and medicine. English language examinations and the training of students to sit for these exams are among other ELT products and services. Much of the money for Australia's ELT business comes from overseas clients, particularly students from Asia, who are as keen to take English language examinations, to purchase ELT instructions and pay to become ESL teachers.

A competitive market

The ELT business is very competitive. From at least the mid-1970s the British Council has been a major competitor in the field. This is largely because, as the Council says, it 'established its position as the world authority on TESL/TEFL, and through it Britain is generally acknowledged to be the world centre for the provision of goods and services for this speciality' (British Council cited in Pennycook 1994: 150). The Council's aims are twofold: to secure a substantial share of the global market for its ELT products and services, and to recover the full range of costs and make a profit while doing so. The Council has been working to improve its business performance through investing in products such as Direct Teaching of English; and increasing the demand for English language examinations (Pennycook 1994:157). In the transnational market for the Council's ELT services and products the latest 'growth area is Central and Eastern Europe, and the countries of the former Soviet Union/' (Crystal 1997:103).

Following an Austrade presentation at an education industry exhibition in Paris in early 1999, French education agents visited ELT businesses in Australia. Austrade and IDP Education Australia are now targeting the recruitment of full-fee paying European students. France 'exports' 46,000 students annually, and Australia wants to capture its share of the 11,000 students seeking English language studies abroad. These services and products constitute a large and lucrative globalised market. In 1988, when the Australian education industry began to enter this market in earnest, the global market for the ELT business generated approximately $US9.5 billion (Pennycook 1994:155). Britain had 16.4% of the market, North America 32% and, Asia and the Pacific had 32% of this market. What gives English its market value? In globally connected urban centres English is now seen as necessary for 'entry and advancement in competitive [and prestigious] jobs ... especially those dealing with import and export, data analysis, product management, sales and secretarial tasks' (Dogancay-Aktuna 1998:33).

Selling ELT British style

The selling of ELT products and services has been under way for many decades. In early 1999 the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Alexander Downer, raised the idea of establishing an Australian equivalent to the British Council:

> 'We have to understand in this country that promoting our culture is promoting an image of Australia; it's about promoting our diversity of society, the creativity of our society, and when it comes to the national interest, yes, it can help with trade, it can help with investment, it can help make Australian cities more attractive to multinational companies setting up regional headquarters'
>
> (Downer cited in Osmond, 1999:3).

As early as 1968 the British Council (cited in Pennycook 1994:145) stated that there "is a hidden sales element in every English teacher, book, magazine, film-strip and television programme sent overseas." In helping to sell the English language worldwide through spreading its study and use, the Council simultaneously tried to develop students' cultural understanding of British literature, arts and politics, and to further the interests of Britain. The spending of public money on this "cultural propaganda" was, Pennycook (1994:147-148) explains, justified by its political and economic significance. Politically, the Council sought to use its ELT commodities to influence the views of elites in its former colonies as part of the Cold War struggle against communism (and global flows of Third World peoples to First World nations). Economically, the British Council (cited in Pennycook 1994:149) sought to further the use of "English as the language of transnational commercial promotion, opening the world more readily to our [British] salesmen [sic]." It is not surprising that the Australian Foreign Minister has been considering the political and economic significance of selling ELT commodities. At the very least the government expects Australia's ELT businesses to promote this country's preferred cultural imaginings and to secure trade and investment for it.

The Uses of Global/Local Englishes

Local contestation and cultural differences mean that English is put to many uses in diverse contexts around the world. Those engaged in the transnational ELT business need to be aware of the kind of uses to which their culturally different clients put their products and services. In some instances English is used in opposition to the interests of those who promote its spread (McArthur 1998:30). While Britain did not give Africans a language for singing the virtues of colonialism, it did give them a language with which to debate imperialism. While the English language was forced down their throats and came with racial arrogance and prejudice, it is now possible for Africans to speak of their ambivalent experiences of British imperialism in a transnational language. However, making English their own language has required more than imitation. To make the best uses of English they have had to produce it anew. Thus, the price a globalised 'language must be prepared to pay is submission to many different kinds of [local uses]' (Achebe 1994:433). The second intercultural competence now required of managers and teachers engaged in Australia's transnational ELT business calls for an increased awareness of the uses to which ELT products and services are put by global citizens for different purposes, seven of which are discussed here.

Colonisation

English has been used to promote British cultural and economic imperialism throughout the world. English has often been used as a means of subjugation and continues to be an important means through which neo-colonial power is exercised (Thiong'o 1994:437). Consider for a moment Viswanathan's (1992) account of the development of English literary studies that he argues was invented in British India. He contends that its humanistic functions of shaping character, developing an aesthetic sense and disciplining ethical thinking were useful for British imperial socio-political control. The strategy of locating authority in English language literature from England served to efface British imperial interests associated with colonialist expropriation, material exploitation and, class and racial oppression. English literature was characterised as an intellectual production that required a reading strategy grounded in reasoning rather than unquestioning faith. As a British invention, English literary studies drew 'its material from an empirically perceived [English] world, [and] disciplined the [Indian] mind to think and reason from the force of evidence' (Viswanathan 1992:164). Both the English language and literature were given a scientific character – rational, objective, true – and this created an air of impartiality around its knowledge claims. English literary studies linked its knowledge claims to scientific credibility and the improvement of the human condition. However, Viswanathan (1992:167) argues that what distinguished English literary studies was the efforts made by the British Raj to obscure its connections with religion and politics through appealing to a weak and narrow conception of objectivity.

Education

Culturally diverse peoples learn English so they can use it to further their education through gaining access to a range of knowledge and skills. English has come to have global force because of a combination of factors: gunpowder, military success and colonialism; the magnetic compass, ship-based commerce, and the industrial revolution, and the printing press, publishing and mass education. Global/local Englishes have gained even further power because of the success of US/American neo-colonialism through its communication technologies and mass media, including the Internet (McArthur 1998:210). This economic imperialism produced powerful technological and scientific knowledge. Much of the influential knowledge in these fields is written in English. For culturally diverse clients to learn about and from new technological and scientific advances means learning English. The business of teaching English is to provide access to this knowledge (Crystal 1997: 101).

Communication

Languages are used for communicative purposes to effect human co-operation and make production possible (Thiong'o 1994: 440). English is in daily use throughout the world in music, television, movies, road signs, business names and products, advertisements, hotels, civil aviation, shipping lanes, professional publications and computers (McArthur 1998: 38). At the beginning of the twentieth first century – a new millenium according to Christian reckoning – English is the official language of transnational political relations (eg. UN, ASEAN, NATO, OPEC) along with most transnational scientific and sporting organisations (eg. UNESCO, IOC). Many of the world's newspapers, periodicals, magazines and academic journals are produced in English, including those newspapers published for a transnational readership such as the International Herald-Tribune. Media developments in advertising, satellite television, blockbuster motion pictures and popular music give expression to and contribute to the growth of global/local Englishes. Transnational travel – transportation, accommodation and hospitality – for business, holidays, pilgrimages, conferences, political rallies, sports competitions and military service, is increasingly mediated by the use of English (Crystal 1997:95-97). The language most often used for air and water safety in the transnational transport industry is a restricted, specialised version – dialect – of English. And to make an advantage of the new communication technologies, such as email and the world wide web, English is the major source of electronically stored and transmitted information.

Commodity

The emphasis on the economic importance of education for increasing the competencies of human resources has given English a new significance within the transnational marketplace. This includes its commodified value as intellectual capital, its research-based production, and its dissemination/acquisition through teaching/learning. English is not only a complex multicultural language that is internationally recognised, but as already noted above it is also a global commodity marketed and traded worldwide. During the 1990s the ELT business, including the education of teachers of English as a "foreign/second" language, was a major growth industry worldwide. The labour function of teaching global/local Englishes aims to produce people with the technical skills to meet the needs of transnational businesses and who are predisposed to "lifelong learning" as they pursue changing employment throughout their working lives. What makes the study of 'English' attractive in some countries is its use as a marker of personal status; its use as 'a kind of international commercial ambience' (McArthur 1998:16), and its use as a symbol of the nation-state's desire to internationalise.

Transnational mobility

With the building a globalised market in the transnational ELT business and restrictive immigration laws that prioritise English language proficiency, culturally different peoples around the world have come to use their English language education to secure their well-being through transnational mobility. The Australian government's tacit sanctioning of limitations on Asian migration has strengthened English language requirements for immigrants. Likewise the government wants University's to use the sale of ELT products and services as a means of generating income to replace public funding. However, some clients of these English language intensive courses have used their learning of English as a means to pursue a change of status from 'international student' to 'permanent Australian resident'.

Social formation

As long ago as 1956 the British Ministry of Education (cited in Pennycook, 1994:155) recognised that customer demand for learning English is 'not necessarily connected with any desire to imitate British ways or to understand British history and culture'. In the USA the English language was taken by black Americans as their own possession and used to build communities where none existed, to create the political solidarity and to resist slavery. They reinvented and remade the English language so that it spoke 'beyond the boundaries of conquest and domination .... English was altered, transformed, and became a different speech' (hooks, 1994:170). Recognising that they no longer have the option of rejecting or resisting the English, Indian attitudes towards the use of English have changed (Rushdie 1994:17–18). In postcolonial, multilingual

India English is now an Indian language. Indians do not just use English the way the British did; they have had to domesticate it for their own purposes. English is used in India to access technical knowledge and for international communication, and as Rushdie (1994:65) explains, "to permit two Indians [eg. a Northerner and a Southerner] to talk to each other in a tongue which neither party hates [eg. Hindi and Gujarati].

Cultural production

English is not only used to create wealth and effect control, but also to engage in social and cultural struggles. English is itself an important means of cultural production, a site of struggle over creating new uses and meanings. These struggles involve the refusal to accept its categories, norms and standards in an effort to create new forms of the English language to produce new meanings and new understandings. The appropriation of English involves its replacement with local cultural specifics as people seek new ways of saying things and new things to say (Thiong'o 1994:441). By rupturing standardised English black Americans made English into more than the language of those who had enslaved them. Not only did this enable black people to resist white supremacy, but through their transformative work they created an intimate speech that could say far more than was permissible within the boundaries of standard[ised] English. The power of this speech is ... that it also forges a space for alternative cultural production and alternative epistemologies – different ways of thinking and knowing that were crucial to creating a counter-hegemonic worldview (Hooks 1994:171).

Risks confronting ELT businesses

The third intercultural competence concerns risk analysis. There are a number of problems with the ELT products and services, and the ways in which they have been sold. These problems include furthering inequalities in people's access to power; unquestioningly legitimise linguistic hierarchies; stigmatising and downgrading the languages 'othered' by English; and sanctioning the mistaken belief that English is better suited to economic and intellectual development (Phillipson 1997:239-240). The danger of globalised flow of English is that for different clients in various localities it creates very real and certain risks, risks that can engender opposition. Here we address six of these risks which those working in the transnational ELT business now need the intercultural competence to manage.

Anglocentrism

Too often ELT products and services are weighed down by Anglocentrism (Pennycook 1994:158-159). This Anglocentrism, which finds easy expression in ELT instructional materials, teaching methods and beliefs, renders many of the products and services of this business inappropriate for culturally different clients. This Anglocentrism is supported by the political culture of the mass media which use standardised 'English as a weapon to silence and censor' (Hooks 1994:172). For example, one radio commentator reportedly 'described it as 'ignorant and arrogant' that Chinese people would speak Chinese at a party in Australia. 'These people are ignorant if they sit there and they talk in another language in Australia we have English' (Wilmoth 1999:15). Closer to ELT businesses, Phillipson (1997:245) argues that the failure of ELT personnel ... to learn local languages epitomises ... ethnocentricity and anglocentricity, the belief that our culture and language is universally relevant ... How can anyone be an expert on the language learning needs, steps and strategies of a set of learners without in-depth knowledge of the culture and languages that the learners bring with them to the classroom and the learning operation? This sort of professional competence goes without saying in foreign language education throughout the 'Western' world but is regarded as superfluous in dominant [English] language learning paradigms both in the home market in the 'North' and in its export variant.

Inappropriate teaching strategies

The ELT business is also involved in the export of inappropriate teaching approaches and theories to culturally diverse settings, reflecting the problematic assumption of cultural neutrality. In some countries and for some students there are pedagogical problems with teaching strategies such as informal interaction, conversation and games (Pennycook 1994:159-162). These problems stem from the mistaken assumption that national development occurs along a unidimensional line, and that all the ELT products and services that are exported from Australia to Asian countries are 'advanced'. Furthermore, where ELT businesses use a 'unitary, prescriptivist model of standardised English, 'their clients find that this approach is often 'an impediment rather than an aid to knowledge' (McArthur 1998:79-80). Certain ELT methods – such as those relating to explicit grammar, representative texts, rote learning and limited oral activity – have been exported to Asian countries. Not surprisingly, their use throughout this region very much resembles 'the rigid and often restrictive ways in which Latin was conventionally taught during most of the last two centuries in English-speaking countries, displaying many of the shortcomings and frustrations associated with them' (McArthur, 1998:184). Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1994) reminds us of the violence associated with what can now only be regarded as inappropriate ELT strategies:

In Kenya, English became more than a language: it was the language, and all the others had to bow before it in deference. Thus, one of the most humiliating experiences was to be caught speaking Gikuyu in the vicinity of the school. The culprit was given corporal punishment … or was made to carry a metal plate around the neck with inscriptions such as I AM STUPID or I AM A DONKEY. Sometimes the culprits were fined money they could hardly afford … The attitude to English was the exact opposite: any achievement in spoken or written English as highly rewarded … English became the measure of intelligence and ability … English became the main determinant of a child's progress up the ladder of formal education.

Failure to engage local contexts

Typically, globalised ELT products and services do not engage local socio-political and cultural contexts; often they tend to be vacuous, materialistic, trivial and simplistic. The false assumption that ELT commodities are value–free leads to their inappropriate deployment in a range of culturally diverse contexts. For instance, Pennycook (1994:151-152) reports that the badly misnamed 'Madras Snowball' project of the 1960s was 'a colossal and … disturbing failure' because of its irrelevance to the Indian context. This project failed to recognise and engage the specific uses of English in India; the multilingual context of English language use; the sociolinguistics of Indian society, and India's multilingual situation as a resource. It should be no surprise therefore that the 'global export of English, English language teaching, and English textbooks frequently leads to situations of cultural conflict where the norms presented in the texts are in direct conflict with local social and cultural norms' (Pennycook 1994:176).

Disempowering

English puts those who do not speak it as their mother language in a position of relative powerlessness. Crystal (1997:12-20) observes that the ELT business tends to 'cultivate an elite monolingual linguistic class, … dismissive in their attitudes towards other languages'. There is a need for those engaged in transnational ELT business to be aware of the fears of disempowerment clients in different countries may have regarding their products and services. For instance, in Burma, "English is known as the 'killer language' (Phillipson 1997:243). Likewise in Turkey some linguists, religious groups and nationalists worry about 'the unstoppable influx of English [and] are alarmed by its dominance in the culture and the 'degeneration' it may cause' (Dogancay-Aktuna 1998:35). This connection between power and ELT commodities suggests one is worthy of being heard only if one speaks in standard[ised] English … [this] disempowers those of us who are just learning to speak, who are just learning to claim language as a place where we make ourselves subject (Hooks 1994:174-168).

Linguistic complacency

The ELT business could engender linguistic complacency by undermining the motivation, opportunities and funding needed to learn other languages. Through the worldwide spread of ELT products and services people might be less inclined to put an end to Australia's strong monolingual, English-only political bias. Despite resistance the Northern Territory Government is pursuing 'English-only' politics with the endorsement of the Federal Howard Government, and closing bilingual education programs in the remote Aboriginal communities. The language of British colonialism deemed many languages as foreign and made outlaws of others (Hooks:1994-169). However, in economically hard-pressed times, success in boosting exports and attracting foreign investment can depend on subtle factors, and knowledge of the diverse languages spoken by Australians are now particularly important in the quest for worldwide trading opportunities. Statements and funding from 'influential politicians and administrators' are necessary for creating both the resources and a 'climate of opinion about the importance of [second] language learning' (Crystal:1997-16).

Endangering the languages and peoples othered by English

The ELT business could also hasten the disappearance of minority languages – and the people who speak them. It could make some languages and their endangered speakers seem unnecessary. Crystal's (1997:17) expectation that up to '80 per cent of the world's 6,000 or so living languages will die out within the next century' means a considerable loss of people, history and identity. The conservation of endangered languages and their speakers must become an integral concern of the ELT business.

The movie version of Bernard Shaw's play My Fair Lady (1964) offers an interesting account of the 'disappearance' of regional dialects in England. Regionally and globally this has been a process integrally associated with the growth of cities; the increases in English language literacy; the widespread dissemination of print; increases in travel and the press for social mobility (Williams, 1965:248-249). To turn a (lower, working class) flowergirl into a (gentrified, aristocratic) lady Higgins (Rex Harrison), a professor of phonetics, teaches Eliza Dolittle (Audrey Hepburn), a speaker of Cockney English, 'correct diction'. Despite a resistant student the professor eventually realises his material, sexual and political desires. Professor Higgins wins his bet, gains Eliza's affections, reasserts aristocratic control of model English and legitimises the aristocracy itself. It is appropriate even in this context that bell Hooks (1994:168) should remind us that standardised English is 'the language of conquest and domination … it is the mask which hides the loss of so many tongues'.

Positioning ELT businesses in global/local markets

The origins of ELT business in British imperialism and its reconstitution through US/American neo-colonialism has not necessarily determined for all time its future direction. Having been made there are possibilities for remaking this business around a new set of intercultural competencies, three of which have already been considered above. The fourth intercultural competence now required of managers and workers in the ELT business is the ability to achieve a more strategic positioning of their products and services. This requires the ability to carefully analyse the local socio-political and cultural contexts in which their products and services may be used in order to increase their compatibility with the cultural differences of clients (Pennycook 1994:177). This attention to the appropriate positioning of ELT products and services being exported to different cultural contexts calls for a recognition that there is no one single strategy that is guaranteed to work globally. Such developments could increase the possibilities for Australia's ELT products and services to compete with the world centres for ELT business, namely the UK and USA. Amidst the confusions and uncertainties there would seem to be a range of possible responses by the ELT businesses to addressing the needs of culturally different clients (McArthur 1998:113-114; 214-215). Rejecting the authoritarian prescriptive response that asserts that English is a monolithic, single entity, we propose testing "muiticultural and decentred perspective" (McArthur 1998:214-215) that accepts the need for acknowledging, critiquing and constantly renegotiating global/local Englishes and the ELT business of which they are a part.

Bilingual communication within global English

Global/local Englishes are manifest in their extravagant varieties. A multicultural, decentred orientation to global/local Englishes is "willing to accept variation in accent, tone, rhythm, pronunciation, grammar, spelling, punctuation, vocabulary, and even culture" (McArthur 1998:118). Those Australians involved in transnational activities need to be aware that the English they speak is not necessarily the English spoken in other countries, and so they need to make a serious effort to be understood and to listen to others while working in transnational contexts. There is an opportunity here for the development of products and services designed to enhance mutual comprehensibility among transnational and multicultural speakers of global/local Englishes.

Multiculturalism can no longer be used to downplay the question of the diversity of global/local Englishes. There is a need to explicitly address the mistaken assumption that because English is a transnational language, that all its users necessarily speak the same English and automatically understand each other. Despite the success of English in becoming a trasnational language mutual, unidirectional incomprehension is a common experience for many of its speakers (McArthur 1998:xiv). Because of the varieties of global/local Englishes there is an opportunity for developing a 'bilingual' approach to the transnational education of Anglophones. English speaking clients of culturally different backgrounds need support for communicating in a local English at home and for mastering an international English for globally oriented work at home or abroad (McArthur 1998:31-32; 43). To address problems of comprehensibility and enhance communication there is a need to develop an appreciation of the significant differences in the English accent, grammar and vocabulary used by English speakers from different countries.

Bilingualism through interpreting and translating

Australia's transnational ELT business must be based on the dual recognition that 'the use of a single language by a community is no guarantee of social harmony or mutual understanding … nor does the presence of more than one language within a community necessitate civil strife' (Crystal 1997:12-20). While the intensification of global/local interdependence has increased the press for an imagined "global language" to reduce the need for translation and interpreting services, Crystal (1997:12) argues that 'the need for more widespread bilingualism [has never] been greater'. There is a need to use languages othered by standardised English in teaching and writing. Students need 'to use their first language and translate it' (Hooks 1994: 171-172) so that their education does not make them strangers to their language and culture.

Not only could the prospects for world-wide telephone interpreting services, similar to that originally pioneered in Australia, undercut the costs of learning a 'global language', but the opportunities for using translation and interpreting in English language learning need further investigation. It is necessary to move away from the monolingual focus of most ELT businesses to provide bilingual education services and products. For instance, courses in interpreting and translating provide a useful vehicle to maintain and further develop bilingualism. From this perspective multilingualism would be viewed as a resource for English language teaching. With the recognition of the relevance of students' first language to second language learning, the monolingual teaching of English is not the only option. This could open up the opportunity for global/local Englishes to be taught by bilingual non-native speakers, along with the production of bilingual ELT resources.

Global/local Englishes and Anglo-ethnic identity

As a global/local language English is no longer owned by any particular country or ethnic grouping, not even the English themselves. The ethnocentric assumption that English is the property of Anglo-ethnic groups, that it is their language, is no longer tenable. English is too valuable a global/local commodity to remain under the exclusive control of any particular ethnic group (McArthur 1998:32; 35; 60). As Salman Rushdie (1994:70) observes, the 'English language ceased to be the sole possession of the English some time ago'. The millions of people throughout the world who have learnt English as a second or foreign language are having an increasingly significant role in shaping its on-going development (Crystal 1997:61). Global/local Englishes represent and give meaning to many diverse cultures. These developments give rise to mixed feelings of fear and envy among Anglo-ethnic interests; so much so that 'the coloniser [has] to rethink the meaning of English language' (Hooks 1994:170).

It is important not to underestimate the significance of Anglo-ethnic anxieties about the rise of varied and enriched global/local Englishes. Here is an opportunity for their resentment and fears to be explicitly addressed as part of the services of ELT businesses. Their ambivalence – their pride and concern – over the worldwide spread of global/local Englishes represents a significant opportunity for ELT teachers:

You [white Anglo-ethnics] may feel pride, that your language is the one which has been successful; but your pride may be tinged with concern, when you realise that [non-white, non-Anglo] people in other countries may not want to use the language in the same way that you do, and are changing it to suit themselves (Crystal 1997:2).

Developing standardised transnational Englishes

Transnational ELT businesses also have the opportunity to provide products and services that address the standardised language skills required of those engaged in a range of transnational occupations. Standardised transnational Englishes are minority forms of this complex language. Efforts to create standardised transnational Englishes address the best ways of having culturally different people 'speak distinctly at optimal speed, politely taking turns and not interrupting unnecessarily, seeking to be aware of different cultural conventions, and taking care in the use of slang, jargon, jokes, allusions, and foreignisms' (McArthur 1998:212). Adrian Cronauer (Robin Williams), in Good Morning Vietnam (1987), gives over-the-top English language lessons, teaching 'New York street English' to Vietnamese adults during the US/American war in Indochina. No consideration is given to the uses to which his students want to put English or the knowledge they want to access, let alone the street language of Vietnamese peoples themselves. Bilingualism and transcultural understanding are not part of the repertoire of this radio announcer impersonating an English language teacher; exotic sexual conquest is his objective. Compilers of works produced to create standardised transnational Englishes need to be attentive to the dangers of such Anglocentrism and decontextualisation. While the need for norms is acknowledged, it is unlikely that it will be possible to create a single, homogeneous international standard. Whatever else might be involved, ELT businesses have the opportunity to develop an educated awareness of how the history of standard[ised] English affects its nature and use today [and acquainting] native-speaking students with the degree to which English has been penetrated by masses of material from other languages (McArthur 1998:195).

ELT business management

There are now opportunities for those working in the ELT business to develop their knowledge of this industry as an transnational business and to empirically investigate the intercultural competencies needed to meet the interests of this business. To date little attention has been given to education programs for the development of intercultural business and management competencies now required for conducting and investing in ELT businesses themselves. The nature of these ELT business, their products and services, and their customers provide important new opportunities for research-based teaching by entrepreneurial academics engaged in the teaching of global/local Englishes to speakers of other languages. Systematic case studies of the issues facing educational managers and teachers engaged in the ELT business could provide useful information for refining their intercultural competencies (Stace 1997). Analysis of the successes, difficulties and frustrations in providing ELT products and services by case study organisations could provide useful information regarding strategies and operational planning; marketing and market intelligence; performance review, and change management. Focusing on small to medium ELT businesses such studies could provide insights into questions concerning technological developments, risk minimisation, organisational structures and staffing.

Identifying the major managerial issues facing ELT businesses could assist in their development of sustainable platforms for their transnational operations. Such studies could provide managers of ELT businesses with a means to reduce some uncertainties; an international comparative business scan; knowledge relevant to business success, and assistance for expanding their transnational markets

Conclusion

The centripetal and centrifugal forces operating on the global flow of English have simultaneously created homogeneity and heterogeneity in its forms, uses and owners. Changing how we think about global/local Englishes and how we understand these uses necessarily changes the intercultural competencies required regarding the how and what we know about this diverse, multicultural language. This Chapter has developed a view of global/local Englishes that acknowledges their marketplace commodification along with a range of associated social and cultural issues. It has explored a range of intercultural competencies now needed for the international English language teaching business and the commodities it trades on world markets. To summarise, we have argued that the ELT business must develop multilingual teaching products and services; more clearly establish the particular and multiple uses clients expect of the English they want to learn, and develop strategies that use "othered" languages in English teaching. The transnational ELT business now needs educational managers and teachers with the intercultural competencies of know-how (ethical and social action skills to ELT business management); know-why (global/local understandings of the ELT business) and know-who (engaging the culturally diverse clients and global citizens who they service).

References

Achebe, C. (1994). *The African writer and the English language*. In P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dogancay-Aktuna, S. (1998). *The spread of English in Turkey and its current sociolinguistic profile*. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 19, 1, pp. 24-39.

Good Morning Vietnam (1987) (video) B. Levinson (dir.). Touchstone Pictures.

Hooks, B. (aka Watkins, G.) (1994). *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom*. New York: Routledge.

McArthur, T. (1998). *The English Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

My Fair Lady (1964) (video), G. Cukor (dir.), Warner Bros.

Osmond, W. (1999). *Downer toys with British Council idea*. Campus Review, 9, 8, p. 3.

Pennycock, A. (1994). *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. London: Longman.

Phillipson, R. (1997). *Realities and myths of linguistic imperialism*. Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 18, 3, pp. 238-247.

Phillipson, R. and Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1996). *English only worldwide or language ecology?* TESOL Quarterly, 30, 3.

Rushdie, S. (1991). *Imaginary Homelands: Essays and Criticism 1981-1991*. London: Granta.

Stace, D. (1997). *Reaching Out from Down Under: Building Competence for Global Markets*. Sydney: McGraw-Hill.

Thiong'o N. (1994). *The language of African literature*. In P. Williams and L. Chrisman (eds.) *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Viswanathan, G. (1992). *The beginnings of English literary study in British India*. In J. Donald and A. Rattansi (eds.) *'Race,' Culture and Difference*. London: Sage.

Williams, R. (1965). *The Long Revolution. Harmondsworth:* Penguin.

Wilmoth, P. (1999). *Speaking the language of Chairman Stan*. The Age, Saturday, 20 March.

Appendix 1
Intercultural Competencies for the ELT Business

1 ***The ability to reinterpret and analyse the Australian ELT business in terms of its products and services, market, competition and sales techniques.***

- *ELT products and services*
  standardised English
  English for special purposes
  examinations
  training students to sit examinations
- *Market analysis*
  market demographics
  competition and market share
  costing and pricing
- *Selling ELT products and services*

2 ***The ability to identify the uses to which ELT products and services are put by culturally different citizens/customers – target markets – in various contexts.***

- *Education*
  access a range of knowledge and skills
- *Colonisation*
- *Communication*
  international politics
  global mass media
  international travel
  international safety
  electronically stored and transmitted information
- *Commodity*
  selling ELT products and services
  intellectual and social capital
  status marker for persons, companies and nations
- *Transnational mobility*
  moving from student to resident status
- *Social formation*
  forming social movements and national identity
  creating political unity
  fighting neo-colonialism

- *Cultural production*

  liberate submerged knowledges and marginalised identities

3 The ability to identify and address risk management issues arising from citizen/client resistance to ELT products and services and the spread of English globally.

- *Anglicism and Anglocentrism*

  Anglocentrism is culturally inappropriate
  Valuing of languages othered by English

- *Inappropriate teaching strategies*

  mistaken assumption about unidimensional national/social development
  unitary prescriptive model of standardised English is an impediment

- *Failure to engage local contexts*

  false assumption that ELT products and services are neutral and value-free

- *Disempowering*

- *Linguistic complacency*

  Danger of undermining motivation, opportunities and funding to learn othered languages
  Need to maintain inclination to challenge Australia's monolingual bias
  Endangering the language and peoples othered by English

- *ELT business needs to support minority languages*

4 The ability to re-position Australian ELT business products and services by foregrounding the benefits of being responsive to client interests.

multicultural, decentred approach to client responsiveness

- *Bilingual communication within English*

  support for local English and international/global English

- *Bilingualism through interpreting and translating*

  interpreting and translating products and services useful for maintaining and developing bilingualism
  preparing bilingual non-native speakers to teach English bilingually

- *Global English and remaking Anglo-ethnic identity*

  need to explicitly address Anglo-ethnic anxiety about the diversified ownership and uses of local/global English

- *Developing international standardised Englishes*

- *ELT business management*

Chapter 6
Questions of Identity in Foreign Language Learning

Michael Byram

Introduction

The relationship between language and social identity is a well established one, particularly with respect to the role language plays in the maintenance of ethnic identity (Edwards, 1985). Whether it is the debate on the teaching of Spanish to children of Hispanic origin in the United States or the struggles over language in Belgium, just to name two cases, the issues have been widely acknowledged in both academic and non-academic circles. The political questions which arise when an ethnic minority gains enough power, through the ballot box or other means, to demand its own schools, the right to use its language in administrative, legal and commercial contexts, can bring down governments. Similarly, the fears of ethnic minorities that the pressures on their members, particularly those who are young, to adopt the language of the majority language group in a society in order to gain access to economic advantage and a higher standard of living are also well known. What is only now beginning to attract attention is the relationship between 'foreign' languages and social identity, particularly national identity, presumably because it has not hitherto been seen as a threat to the status quo in nation states. However, there is now much talk about the decline of the nation state as a consequence of globalisation and the extension of the 'American empire' on the one hand, and the rise of new nation states out of the ashes of the Soviet empire on the other. Here foreign language is an issue, as English is seen to threaten the cultures and identities of less affluent states, and the distinction between native and foreign language is seen as an important marker of difference, for example in the need to distinguish between the Czech and Slovak languages after the formation of two States from the former Czechoslovakia.

Thus even without the drama of re-formations of nation states, the role of foreign language learning is one which is beginning to pre-occupy many politicians, particularly those who fear the effect of Americanisation through the learning of English. For example there has been the debate about the introduction of early foreign language learning in Taiwan: will the learning of English undermine the degree to which young people identify with the emerging national identity? Empirical evidence suggests that this is not the case (Ho, 1998), but the issues need further exploration in other circumstances too, and the purpose of this chapter is to consider what is involved in foreign language learning in terms of socialisation and identity formation, and the implications for language teaching policy.

1 – Language teaching policies in national context

In recent decades, as the significance of education for the economic development of nation states has become more and more evident, as politicians have begun to realise that the most important capital in the competitive market place is the human capital in the population, statements about the purposes of education have become more explicit. In language teaching this leads not only to an emphasis on the practical use of language for communication – not least with others in the market place – but also to statements about the ways in which language teaching should create harmonious relationships with speakers of 'other' languages.

Such statements are however influenced by the socio-political context in which they are made. In Canada for example, where the pre-occupation with relationships with 'otherness' is as much within the country as beyond, the teaching of French is intended to improve relationships between the two language groups. Stereotypes about French speakers held by English speakers are prejudicial to the unity of the state, and language teaching is expected to contribute to overcoming the problem:

> A un niveau avancé une prise de conscience des préjugés dominants peut être bénéfique. Il s'agira avant tout de mettre en valeur le caractère exagéré des stéréotypes, non de forcer des attitudes positives à l'égard des francophones. Il ne faut pas sous-estimer les jeunes en évitant ou en sur-simplifiant un sujet difficile. (Leblanc et al., 1990 : 39)

Here, the authors recognise that positive attitudes cannot be forced on people, but in the British context, similar expectations are formulated more strongly not only with respect to 'otherness' within the state – there is implicit reference to speakers of other languages within Britain – but also to the 'foreign', the speakers of other languages living in other countries. The educational aims of foreign language teaching include:

> to encourage positive attitudes to foreign language learning and to speakers of foreign languages and a sympathetic approach to other cultures and civilisations (DES, 1990: 1)

What this means in practice is made explicit under the advice given on the development of 'cultural awareness':

> Pupils should be given opportunities to:
> (....)
> - consider their own culture and compare it with the cultures of the countries and communities where the target language is spoken
> - identify with the experiences and perspectives of people in these countries and communities (DfE, 1995: 3)

The precise meaning of the phrase 'identify with' is not made clear. It could mean 'take on the identity of' people in other countries and communities, but this is unlikely. Nonetheless, it is a strong statement.

In the United States, the emphasis on this dimension of the aims of language teaching is even greater since there is an implication that practical communication need not be the dominant purpose, as it usually is in other countries. The 'Standards' which are intended to provide guidance at a national level even though there is no national curriculum, distinguish 'five C's' of which communication is only one:

> Regardless of the reason for study, foreign languages have something to offer to everyone. It is with this philosophy in mind that the standards task force identified five goal areas that encompass all these reasons: Communication, Cultures, Connections, Comparisons, and Communities – five C's of foreign language education.
>
> Communication, or communicating in languages other than English, is at the heart of second language study, whether the communication takes place face-to-face, in writing, or across centuries through the reading of literature. Through the study of other languages, students gain a knowledge and understanding of the cultures that use that language; in fact, students cannot truly master the language until they have also mastered the cultural contexts in which the language occurs. Learning languages provides connections to additional bodies of knowledge that are unavailable to monolingual English speakers. Through comparisons and contrasts with the language being studied, students develop greater insight into their own language and culture and realise that multiple ways of viewing the world exist. Together, these elements enable the student of languages to participate in multilingual communities at home and around the world in a variety of contexts and in culturally appropriate ways. (Standards for Foreign Language Learning, 1996: 23)

It is significant however that the authors feel they have to anticipate the argument that many Americans will not need a foreign language after school, either because of the strength of English as a world language, or because they are unlikely to travel outside the United States. They go on to say:

> Even if students never speak the language after leaving school, for a lifetime they will retain the cross-cultural skills and knowledge, the insight, and the access to a world beyond traditional borders. (op. cit.: 24)

The 'Standards' do not go quite as far as the English national curriculum with respect to 'encouraging' change in attitudes, even though there is explicit reference to the importance of comparisons as a way of understanding oneself as much as understanding others. There is considerable circumspection about values education among American educationists.

The significance of understanding both 'self' and 'other' and the issue of values is taken a step further in a statement from the Arab Gulf States, where the fear of foreign language study as a source of rejection of one's own culture is very explicit. The

'United Formula for Goals of Subjects in General Education Stages in the Arab Gulf States' includes the following foreign language objectives:

> At the end of the secondary stage students should:
>
> - acquire a favourable attitude to the English language
> - acquire a good understanding of English speaking people on the condition that the above will *not* lead to the creation of a hostile or indifferent attitude to the students' Arab/Islamic culture

There is an evident fear of foreign language learning having an undesired influence on learners' cultural identity.

Each state then developed its own more detailed statement of aims, and in Qatar we find that they include aims which are orientated to communication with speakers of English, for reasons of technological progress and as a means of understanding one's own as well as the culture of others:

> To acquire a basic communicative competence in order to be able to use English appropriately in real life situations, to appreciate the value of learning English as a means of communication with English speaking people, and to gain access to their knowledge in various fields and to the technology which has international currency.
>
> To expand one's own cultural awareness by learning about the cultural heritage of English speaking peoples and by so doing to arrive at a livelier appreciation of both cultures.

There is also an unusual and interesting particular aim for English as a *lingua franca* which may be a tacit purpose in many education systems but is here made explicit:

> To exploit one's command of English in order to spread in the world a better understanding and appreciation of one's own religion, culture, and values and to influence world public opinion favourably towards one's people and their causes. (Abu Jalalah, 1993)

So here it quite clear that as well as seeking to create a basis for good international relationships by creating favourable attitudes towards others, there is a perceived need to be pro-active with respect to other people's attitudes towards one's own way of life.

The differences between these various policies and approaches are related to and determined by the perception in a given situation of the relationships between nation states and their citizens on the one hand, and among nation states on the other.

A new departure is marked by the introduction of language teaching policies which are supra-national. This is happening in the European context on two levels and it is here that questions of identity begin to be more controversial.

2 – Language teaching policies in international context

In the European Community/Union, a policy has been proposed that all those living in the countries of the Union should be helped to acquire three languages of the Union, including one's first language – if it is an official language of the Union. Since the Union is an economic as well as a cultural and political entity, it is not surprising that, in the White Paper on the Learning Society (European Commission, 1996), Chapter 4 opens with the statement:

> Proficiency in several Community languages has become a precondition if citizens of the European Union are to benefit from the occupational and personal opportunities open to them in the border-free single market.

However the paper goes on to suggest that there is a further role for language teaching/learning:

> Proficiency in languages helps to build up the feeling of being European with all its cultural wealth and diversity and of understanding between the citizens of Europe.

So on the one hand there is the concept of economic mobility, considered to be crucial in competition with the USA, Japan and other East Asian economies, and on the other the notion of 'feeling European' and being a 'citizen of Europe'. This is a major innovation in language policy, although it can also be seen as the development of an established policy that the school curricula of European Union countries should include a 'European dimension'.

Language teachers are thus expected to help to develop in their learners 'the feeling of being European'. Other subjects, such as history, the mother tongue and literature, and geography are inevitably part of the process of secondary socialisation and the creation of a national identity. One symptom of this is the fierce debates which arise from time to time about the teaching of national history or national literature. Foreign language teaching has not been involved in this kind of debate, and has simply been seen as the place where young people acquire skills of communication. The change of socio-political context and the expectations of European politicians that language teaching will contribute to the creation of a European identity is a new challenge for teachers evoking a range of views. The national socio-political context is crucial. In a project to study the views of language teachers on 'European integration', we found significant differences between English and Danish teachers of foreign languages (Byram and Risager, 1999). On the one hand, the English teachers felt they had the task of breaking down existing ethnocentricity:

> We have this island mentality which accounts for an awful lot in our educational system still and in our outlook in general I think and our attitude towards the foreigner and also this feeling of superiority towards the rest of Europe.
>
> The biggest problem we have is trying to encourage our children to feel

> European, and that is because adults have talked a long time about: we'll go across this water and go abroad to Europe.
>
> The phrase 'go into Europe' irritates me. I keep saying 'Well, so there are five continents and one island!' I mean we are in Europe.

On the other hand, we found that some Danish teachers feared the loss of a national perspective:

> I think a country needs its culture, and needs the fundamental element which culture is precisely for each country. Culture is a question of a country's identity and a person's identity. And when we travel around Europe we can be proud of being Danes, we can of course also be the opposite.
>
> ... when Danes become a threatened species like the panda .. Denmark is after all an easy victim, but we have a cultural inheritance, which makes us unique. I think we must find a way of protecting it.

So being part of Europe is felt by some Danish people, even language teachers whom one might expect to be less ethnocentric, as problematic. Yet there are other teachers who see it differently again, recognising that beneath the ethnocentricity there may be a 'fear of the foreign':

> I don't think we should isolate ourselves as Danes, and I am not nervous either about our identity, because you can say that if we aren't stronger than that, then there were in fact some things we needed to have changed. I have never seen it as a threat that Europe is moving nearer, that we have more community.
>
> If the Danes can overcome their fear of the foreign – they find that very difficult – I certainly think it will be a positive thing for the Danes to experience such a large world instead of such a small country. And I think that the generation which is growing up now will take it for granted that their fatherland is more Europe than Denmark ... I think actually that there are greater advantages for the small countries than for the large ones, because there the influence will be greater. If one can see the opportunities one gets, then I think it will be good for the small countries.

The view of Europe as a 'fatherland' is probably unusual, but is nonetheless symptomatic of political and social changes which potentially offer another level of citizenship and identity to people living in Europe. There are diverse signs of this. Citizens of Member States of the European Union vote not only for their national parliament but also for the European parliament, and the Heads of State and Governments of countries which are members of the Council of Europe have launched a new initiative for education for democratic citizenship. This new situation has implications for the aims of language teaching and the policy which needs to be formulated.

3 – Plurilingual citizens with intercultural competence

Unlike the proposals for policy from the Commission of the European Union, with the emphasis on a specific number of languages and on those languages which are recognised as official for the Union, the Council of Europe has a policy of diversification without specifying particular languages or the number of languages. Thus in March 1998, the Committee of Ministers recommended to the governments of member states that they should:

- Encourage all Europeans to achieve a degree of communicative ability in a number of languages;
- Diversify the languages on offer and set objectives appropriate to each language; (Recommendation No. R (98) 6)

The Council of Europe documents make a distinction between 'multilingual' states, where individuals may be monolingual, and 'plurilingual' individuals, who may be citizens of monolingual states. The policy is thus to encourage all states whatever their make-up, to encourage individuals to become plurilingual.

Simultaneously, as a consequence of the decision that priority should be given in all Member States to developing 'education for democratic citizenship', work is going ahead to define what this might involve and what the competences and characteristics of the democratic citizen might be. The definition is complex but includes the following:

- *cognitive competences*
    - legal and political: knowledge of rules of collective life – of powers in a democratic society
    - knowledge of the present world: historical and cultural dimension – capacity for critical analysis
    - knowledge of the principles and values of human rights and democratic citizenship: based on concept of freedom and equal dignity
- *affective competences and choice of values:*
    - the importance of conviction and adherence to principles
    - thinking of oneself as an individual in relation to others
    - belonging to a group or groups
    - a personal and collective affective dimension
    - values of freedom, equality and solidarity
    - positive acceptance of differences and diversity
    - beyond a narrow conception of tolerance
- *capacities for action (social competences):*
    - capacity to live with others and cooperate: construct and implement joint projects
    - capacity to resolve conflicts in accordance with the principles of democratic law: calling on a third person
    - open debate

> – capacity to take part in public debate: argue and choose in a real life situation (Audigier, 1998)

These are complex and sophisticated capacities which, in a multilingual geo-political space such as Europe, can only be attained by plurilingual individuals. The capacity to take part in public debate for example requires plurilinguality, but the capacity to live and cooperate with others also requires an understanding of otherness and the relationships between different cultural values systems. These are not included in the concept of communicative competence and the model of the native speaker which have underpinned language teaching for many decades. Learners need to acquire an 'intercultural communicative competence' (Byram, 1997), and the ability to mediate between different sets of meanings, values and behaviours. Kramsch (1998) has called this a 'privilege' which is different from and perhaps superior to the capacity of the native speaker. The Council of Europe's proposals for a 'Common European Framework' for language teaching, learning and assessment also recognise the importance of 'intercultural awareness':

> Knowledge, awareness and understanding of the relation (similarities and distinctive differences) between the 'world of origin' and the 'world of the target community' produce an intercultural awareness. It is of course important to note that intercultural awareness includes an awareness of the regional and social diversity of both worlds. It is also enriched by awareness of a wider range of cultures than those carried by the learner's L1 and L2. This wider awareness helps to place both in context. (Council of Europe, 1998: para 4.7.1.1.3)

and the notion of mediation:

> - the ability to bring the culture of origin and the foreign culture into relation with each other;
> - cultural sensitivity and the ability to identify and use a variety of strategies for contact with those from other cultures;
> - the capacity to fulfil the role of cultural intermediary between one's own culture and the foreign culture and to deal effectively with intercultural misunderstanding and conflict situations.
>
> (Council of Europe, 1998: para 4.7.1.2.2)

There is no suggestion here that language teaching should influence identity, as was the case in the text from the European Union, but the notion of intercultural competence and mediation requires learners to take a new perspective on what they have learnt and taken for granted in their own world of meanings, values and behaviours, acquired through primary and secondary socialisation.

Berger and Luckman in their classic discussion of socialisation describe primary socialisation as: 'the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it (....) the first socialisation an individual undergoes in childhood through which he (sic) becomes a member of society'(1966: 150). Secondary socialisation is 'any subsequent process that inducts an already socialised individual into new sectors of the objective world of his (sic) society' (ibid.).

The term 'tertiary socialisation' (Doyé, 1992) has been coined to describe the induction into other worlds, which may have different and conflicting meanings, values and behaviours to those acquired through primary and secondary socialisation. One can only speculate on the relationship between experience of otherness in this way and the development of a 'supranational' identity which is implied in some of the documents analysed above.

Where existing identities are firm, the development of further social identities need not undermine or be in conflict with them; learners may feel both European and whatever their national identity is. The two are in principle not mutually exclusive since they are at different societal levels. The sense of belonging to a group becomes strongest in contrasts with other groups:

> The characteristics of one's group as a whole (...) achieve most of their significance in relation to perceived differences from other groups and the value connotations of these differences (...) the definition of a group (national or racial or any other) makes no sense unless there are other groups around.
>
> (Tajfel, 1978: 66)

The differences are not between being, say, Danish and European as some of the Danish teachers feared, but between being Danish and British, or European and Asian. However this in turn creates a difficulty, namely that of creating distinctions between Europeans and non-Europeans, and can be criticised as part of the 'fortress Europe' mentality which attempts to put a ring-fence around Europe to maintain its economic and political unity and strength.

4 – The political nature of language teaching

The language teaching profession is realising the political nature of its work, particularly in the teaching of English (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992) and its potential for carrying a neo-colonial cultural message. What I have suggested here is that the issues are not limited to English, but also that not only a sociological but also social-psychological view needs to be taken. Whatever the situation and whatever the language(s), choices and educational aims are political and politically motivated. There can be no neutral choices. Furthermore, when the choices involve development of the individual learner's intercultural competence, that in itself presupposes a new kind of socialisation which in some circumstances can lead to new social identities. The choices and decisions here too cannot be shirked, but that is the responsibility of the teacher as educationist. Language teaching may have appeared for some time to be politically and socially neutral, the training of skills and competences, but whatever the context – and here the European case has been used as an example – language teachers need to be aware of their educational responsibilities.

References

Abu Jalalah, F., (1993). *The Cultural Dimension of Teaching English as a Foreign Language in an Arab Gulf State.* Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Durham.

Audigier, F., (1998). *Basic concepts and core competences of education for democratic citizenship: an initial consolidated report.* [DECS/CIT (98) 35] Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Berger, P.L. and Luckmann, T., (1966). *The Social Construction of Reality.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Byram, M., (1997). *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Byram, M. and Risager, K., (1999). *Language Teachers, Politics and Cultures.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Council of Europe, (1998). *Modern languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment. A Common European Framework of reference.* Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

DFS (1990). *Modern Foreign Languages for ages 11 to 16: proposals of the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales.* London: HMSO.

DfE, (1995). *Modern Foreign Languages in the National Curriculum.* London: HMSO.

Doyé, P., (1992). *Fremdsprachenunterricht als Beitrag zu tertiärer Sozialisation.* In Buttjes, D., Butzkamm, W. and Klippel, F. (Eds.) *Neue Brennpunkte des Englischunterrichts,* Frankfurt a.M.: Peter Lang pp 280-95.

Edwards, J., (1985). *Language, Society and Identity.* Oxford: Blackwell.

European Commission, (1996). *Towards the learning Society.* Luxembourg: European Commission.

Ho, M-C., (1997). *English language teaching in Taiwan : a study of the effects of teaching culture on motivation and identity.* Unpublished PhD thesis University of Durham, England.

Kramsch, C., (1998) The privilege of the intercultural speaker. In M. Byram and M. Fleming (eds.) *Language Learning in Intercultural Perspective: Approaches through Drama and Ethnography.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Leblanc, C., Courtel, C. and Trescases, P., (1990). *Étude nationale sur les programmes de base,* Ottawa: Assoc. Canadienne des Professeurs de Langues Secondes.

Pennycook, A., (1994). *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language.* London: Longman

Phillipson, R., (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism.* Oxford: Oxford University Press

Standards for Foreign Language Learning: Preparing for the 21st Century. (1996) Yonkers, NY: National Standards in Foreign Language Education Project.

Tajfel, H. (ed.), (1978).*Differentiation Between Social Groups,* London: Academic Press.

Part II
Intercultural Competence in Practice

Chapter 7
From 'sympathetic' to 'dialogic' imagination: Cultural study in the foreign language classroom

Jo Carr

Introduction

In Queensland schools, the study of a foreign language is now a core component of every student's school experience; just like maths, language arts and social sciences. The objectives of this compulsory language experience have been identified as cognitive, economic and cultural. The presumed economic benefits are often elaborated and are well understood; the cognitive benefits are less often discussed and need further explanation; but the cultural benefits seem to be taken as a given – an automatic outcome of language study, variously described as increased understanding, awareness, sensitivity, sympathy and tolerance. These descriptions of anticipated cultural outcomes derive from the model of 'culture' which has travelled with language studies for many years; apparently undisturbed by contemporary developments in cultural theory.

This traditional model is the essentialised 'colourful difference' one, which sees culture as the human face of a particular language, unitary and recognisable, homogeneous and definitely 'other'. Relationship with this otherness is variously framed in policy documents and program objectives; but the terms listed above appear repeatedly. While they resonate with good intention, clearly intending to soften the harshness and dissonance of what Singh (1998) describes as the recently resurfaced politics of resentment, such wordings foreclose on exploration of cultural difference and mask the complexity of intercultural experience. Difference in this model is something to be negotiated with good intent, circumnavigating possible conflict or tension, maintaining good relations between groups. Such managing of cultural experience has a distancing effect, freezing 'to the point of petrification' (McCarthy and Dimitriadis 1998:18) relationship or connection between diversity of experience. The good will which 'celebrates' diversity is clearly good; but it generates a discourse of containment which does nothing to facilitate the circulation or experience of a wider range of meanings. It is a familiar discourse. In 1836, the German diplomat and linguist von Humboldt commented that 'each tongue draws a circle about the people to whom it belongs'; adding that attempts to occupy a different standpoint, through the experience of learning a foreign language, are effectively doomed – 'because one always carries over into a foreign tongue to a greater or lesser degree one's own cosmic viewpoint – indeed one's own personal linguistic pattern' ((1836) 1971; in Duranti 1998:62). These circles of experience, insisted Humboldt, were neither superior nor inferior; but were circumscribed by differences which were impossible to bridge.

Traces of this early model of cultural relativity still linger in contemporary discourses of foreign language education. References to cosmic viewpoints may have disappeared, but discussion continues around the ways languages 'carve up' or frame experience in particular ways. The cultural relativity argument has been usefully extended, however, to incorporate systematic analysis of difference; encounters with cultural systems which are 'other' being seen as opportunities for the kinds of comparative analysis which reflect and refract and provide insights to one's own cultural locatedness. This form of contrastive cultural analysis is similar to that traditionally used to predict points of potential phonological or syntactical collision; and certainly helps students to step outside the comfort zone of the normative cultural sense of 'how things are'; to notice ways in which the target culture constructs a different version of the world, articulated in different systems of representation, managed linguistically in ways that vary from their own. This is clearly productive analysis; but it leaves the divide intact. Only occasionally is there an explicit move towards a more 'connective' analysis (e.g. Crozet and Liddicoat 1999; Kramsch 1993; Byram 1998; Roberts 1998).

These occasional moves are important moves and point the way to an alternative approach which will make the foreign language classroom a more relevant place. They require, however, a conscious engagement with discussions which have preoccupied the related disciplines of cultural studies, semiotics, anthropology, poststructuralist, postcolonial and feminist theories for the last two decades. In these disciplines, culture has been retheorised in increasingly interconnected ways. Central to these analyses has been insistence on the co-constitutive nature of language and culture and on the centrality of discourse in the cultural processes and practices of meaning making (Foucault 1981; Gee 1990). It is ironic that applied linguistics – whose core business is communication in its most direct form – has been slow to engage with the work around literacy, discourse and culture which has relocated interest in language in a much broader cultural frame (Pennycook 1998; Corson 1997; Weirzbicka 1997); but it explains the continuing lack of a clearly formulated approach to working with culture in the language classroom. Language teachers have had no real tools for 'teaching' culture.

1 – Assembling a conceptual tool-kit

The first tool needed is a working definition of what we mean by culture; a difficult concept to define – considered by some as the kind of 'perilous idea' which is possibly best avoided (Wierzbicka 1997:17). It is nonetheless the core component of what we do in our language classrooms; so we need a shared, pragmatic understanding of what we're talking about. A loose working definition could be: 'the systematic and collective making of meaning' (Lankshear 1994; Duranti 1997) – allowing enough conceptual leeway to include in this 'meaning': systems of representation. institutional practices and processes, organisation of access to cultural goods and cultural experience, the circulation of social knowledge, contestation of power relations, the production of texts, the rituals, rites, symbols and icons which have particular significance or function in the life of the group.

The role of language is core to this business of making collective meaning; not simply in terms of reflecting back, mirroring or transmitting, but also as constructing, contesting, preserving, destroying or reconfiguring particular meanings. Central to this model of culture, therefore, is the understanding of language as social practice; and of language acquisition as the 'getting' of discourse (Gee 1990) – 'discourse' being the second key concept/tool needed for a more systematic approach. Gee's first-level definition of Discourse and of discourses ('ways of behaving, interacting, valuing, thinking, believing, speaking and often reading and writing that are accepted as instantiations of particular roles by specific groups of people... Always and everywhere social' 1990: xviii.) – is helpful; as are the many accounts and analyses of critical literacy strategies in classroom practice (e.g. Luke, Comber and O'Brien 1994; Kamler 1994; Muspratt, Luke and Freebody 1997). Critical language awareness and critical literacy work has long since established very practical frameworks for classroom exploration of language as cultural and social practice with students at all levels. These same strategies go a long way towards solving the problem of 'what to do' with culture in the foreign language classroom.

Critical literacy work transfers easily to the foreign language classroom (Carr 1994). Its 'interrogation' of texts identifies culture at work, systematically uncovering and demonstrating the essential text-context relationship, noting the lexical, syntactical, rhetorical, discursive choices that are made in the construction of all texts, and how these choices have material effects. The connection between discourse and material social practice is clearly identified. Lying at the core of the critical literacy approach is a recognition of language as the prime site for the contestation of cultural power; of discourse as the 'power to be seized' (Foucault 1984:110). This notion of contestation has been central to the development of analytical tools for identifying instances of inclusion and exclusion, dominance and inequity; of demonstrating ideology at work in texts. Luke describes critical discourse analysis as epistemology in action (1997), which facilitates among other things an examination of the 'performativity' of texts in ways which clearly reveal the material effects of discourse in cultural and political economies. Such critical analysis is clearly not only interpretative but also potentially transformative; opening up options, improving access, allowing for more effective decision-making.

The issue of transformative potential brings us back to thinking more precisely about what it is we want our students to do culturally in our language classrooms; what we hope they will have learned by the time they exit the program. Teachers talk of wanting students to be more aware, understanding and sympathetic. Such targeted outcomes are inadequate (Carr 1998); – a point emphasised by Lo Bianco, who identifies tolerance as 'a low order objective', minimalist and pessimistic, which ultimately 'leaves so much work undone' (1999:6). We want our students to be able to 'do' difference as well as appreciate it. Living in an increasingly hybrid and culturally shifting world, they need skills as well as awarenesses. They need to be interculturally competent players as well as sensitive observers. Working towards this kind of competence involves noticing, analysing and reflecting on difference as it is experienced, in ways which provide a framework for productive dialogue between existing and new understandings.

A third component of our reconceptualised toolkit, therefore, will be strategies for rethinking the issue of difference. We need to identify and clarify the limitations of the 'avoidance of conflict' approach; to recognise struggle and tension as productive rather than problematic – necessary preconditions for change. In the preface to Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture (1990), Bourdieu and Passeron include the poem by Robert Desnos about the self-reproducing pelican: the continuous, easy production of identical, perfectly-formed eggs offered as a metaphor for the inevitable, normalised, process of social and cultural reproduction. Only when eggs are deliberately broken – interrupting the normal chain of events – is something new and 'nourishing' (the omelette) produced. Transferring the metaphor of productive rupture to the development of intercultural competence, we could argue that the shattering of perfectly formed, self-sustaining, bounded universes of cultural 'knowledge' (the eggs) will inevitably be disrupting and destabilising, but will result in more synthesised, less constrained, more nourishing and 'consumable' experience (the omelette). The most interesting work in recent times in retheorising cultural exploration in language classrooms works explicitly with this positive dimension of interruption, conflict and tension (e.g. Kramsch 1997).

One further concept to redefine in relation to our pedagogical task is that of competence; what it is that we hope students will develop. For the last two decades this competence has been conceptualised in terms of appropriacy. Following the early work of Hymes (1971), communicative competence became the targeted objective and cornerstone of communicatively based pedagogy. This competence was defined in detail as appropriate grammatical, sociolinguistic, discursive and strategic communicative behaviour (Canale and Swain 1980). This has represented an important paradigmatic shift, signalling a move from seeing grammar as the study of the linguistic system to seeing it as 'the potential within which we act and enact our cultural being' (Wallace, 1995). This shift in focus has made language learning a more relevant experience for students; but this commitment to appropriacy can itself constitute a serious limitation in terms of developing intercultural competence.

Pennycook describes the limitation as stemming from 'the universalising discourses of applied linguistics', which tend to disregard the specificity of cultural experience and the determining nature of context (1997:44). Fairclough (1992) shares this view, criticising the assumption that appropriate communicative behaviour (beyond the most general of levels) can be taught – like some set of skill; arguing that communicative repertoires are plural, variable and often ill-defined. The matching of language to context is characterised by indeterminacy, heterogeneity and struggle, which makes it impossible to reduce language education to skills training.

Which brings us back to thinking about tension. Experience of another culture precipitates collisions with the established norms and parameters which characterise 'the potential within which we act and enact our cultural being' – the cultural 'grammars' referred to above. These encounters can be confronting, involving negotiation of the faultlines which Kramsch argues are in fact the sites for most interesting experience and movement (1993). Instead of imagining and targeting some kind of seamless transition to native-like competence – a mastering of a set of appropriate behaviours – it is more productive to recognise intercultural contact as a much messier business; one in which overlaps, collisions, and slippages are par for the course; in which hybridity is the norm, borders become blurred, parameters shift, and settled 'truths' become less settled. This adds up to a radically less secure pedagogical enterprise; but one which holds promise for the development of competencies that might actually transfer to the real world; what Pennycook describes as a 'pedagogy of possibilities' offering 'real cultural alternatives' (Pennycook 1997:47). Such pedagogy, however, needs to engage explicitly with the 'messy and contradictory realities of the sociolinguistic order' (Fairclough 1992:51) – which are characterised by plurality and hybridity. Only through such engagement is it possible to move beyond essentialist paradigms and out of native-like consensual spaces, and to begin exploring the fragmentation, overlaps and hybridity which constitute lived cultural experience.

Gee (1993) makes the point nicely. Using the notion that different languages 'cut up the world' in particular ways, according particular possibilities of definition, classification and interpretation, he emphasises the mutability and fluidity of what are often seen as fixed realities:

> 'The way a language cuts up the world will influence how we initially think about something, but it does not determine how we finish thinking about it. Under pressure we can think about things outside the categories of our language, because we find other people's ways of doing things senseful. We find them senseful because, at least where language is concerned, they are all chosen from the inventory of ways allowed by the human brain, which is,like the eye, everywhere the same across cultures.' (1993:11)

The idea of movement and change is important, as is the idea of pressure. Normative 'categories of language' are solidly founded, and the shifting of fixed realities requires applied force; but Gee's distinction between the initial and the ultimate possibilities for escaping the confines of these categories aligns with Kramsch's recommendations that structured exploration of faultlines is interculturally productive business – and also with the recent comment by neurologist Dr. Oliver Sacks (1999) that the human brain is characterised by a degree of plasticity which is only minimally appreciated; that language and culture 'construct the brain' in ways which are endlessly renegotiable.

2 – Reconceptualising the language classroom

If the language classroom is a site which engages in readings of the world, suitable for the kinds of transformative practices which have real 'emancipatory potential' (Corson, 1997), it has to be recognised that such practice is not easy. It involves negotiating what Corson describes as the 'ontological minefield' of human social interaction. Kramsch recognises this challenge, and suggests strategies for making the language classroom the site for creation of a culture which is neither that of the first culture/language, nor that of the target culture/language; but of a third kind of culture created in the 'interstices' of the two (1993). This third kind of culture emerges from the struggle that ensues when existing sets of meanings encounter alternative sets of meanings. This is the struggle identified by Bakhtin (1981): a dialogic encounter, which engages in an ongoing play of voices – voices which emerge from specific historical, political and social contexts, carrying with them traces of specific experiences. Kramsch's frame of structured exploration of cultural interstices, and Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia provide a backdrop for working towards the development of an imagination that is not sympathetic, but genuinely dialogic.

A shift in focus is required. Competence is active, involving practice, reflection and analysis as well as observation. To focus on the learner and on the cultural encounter itself as well as on the target culture/language, will underscore the active nature of cultural and intercultural experience. It then becomes possible to examine issues of identity, voice and subjectivity; and to move from 'reading' the world to 'voicing' and 'acting' the world; re-examining what we might mean by learner autonomy. Pennycook talks about 'autonomy in voice', rather than the more usual objective of autonomy as a learner; and further imagines the voices that might emerge from dialogic experience as being 'insurgent voices' (p. 48). A focus on voice as well as on 'reading' constructs learning as more active and more authored. Conscious attention to the hybridity and complexity of cultural and intercultural experience connects with Bakhtin's notion of heteroglossia and multivocality.

Bakhtin's concept of dialogic imagination (1981) has particular significance in the foreign language context. As culture is recognised as constructing itself linguistically and discursively, learning a language that is other is seen to be 'voicing the culture':

negotiating the discourses which constitute/contest/communicate that culture. Bakhtin talks about the appropriation of utterances, emphasising that this process is always co-creative. It happens in the interstices between existing and new repertoires, involving the same kinds of interweaving and 'hypertexting' as those associated with the concept of intertextuality. Heteroglossia can be seen as voiced intertextuality – involving traces, residues, echoes and resonances, that constantly recreate and reconfigure the individual cultural voice of the speaking subject. Students know in lived experiential terms what we might be thinking of teaching them analytically. They cross cultural borders every day of their lives. Essentialised versions of identity have long been experienced as flawed: labels such as 'Polish', 'Korean' or 'Canadian' are experienced in real life as starting points only, open to all kinds of reconfiguration in relation to variables such as class, ethnicity, gender, socio-economic status or generation. Said (1993) referred to this kind of base-line essentialising as the worst and most paradoxical gift of imperialism: the sense people gained that they were 'only, mainly, exclusively White, Black or Western or Oriental'. The concept of heteroglossia carries with it real emancipatory potential in terms of identity politics. Possibilities present which will never be available if we stay grounded in the normative culture of language classrooms which teach what French or Chinese people 'do', 'believe' or 'say'; possibilities of experiencing other ways of being in the world, other ways of imagining and acting. These will become possible in classrooms which are informed by the understanding that 'to use language is not so much a question of mastering a system as it is a question of struggling to find means of articulation amid the cultures, discourses and ideologies within which we live our lives' (Pennycook 1997: 48).

Close examination of texts for cultural information; critical discourse analysis as 'epistemology in action'; exploration of key words and core concepts, of metaphors, symbols and systems of representation; reflection on the nature of cultural knowledge and how it is constituted through language: this kind of work can begin even at the earliest stages of language learning. It is intellectual work, but eminently adaptable to all stages of learning. And it makes dialogue unavoidable. The refractive experience of intercultural encounters – what Kramsch calls the prism effect (1993) – forces learners into awareness of their own cultural knowledge and locatedness. This experience, alongside new insights and knowledge about the culture and language that is 'other', move learners towards proficiency in 'meta-ways': metalinguistically (talking about the cognitive, linguistic and cultural experience); in terms of meta-awarenesses and accompanying meta-practices. These are potentially transforming ways.

It may sound like a troublesome project with questionable intent: the breaking of eggs; the development of insurgent voices; the deliberate rejection of consensus in favour of exploration of interstices. But applied linguistics has lingered too long in normative, essentialising spaces, ignoring the dynamic, fluid, constantly renegotiable nature of cultural experience. Cultural experience that is reflective and productive does involve rupture and disjuncture. It operates within a climate of contestation and juxtaposition, of sometimes unsettling movement between discourses, voices, identities and versions of the world. Gee (1997) makes the now familiar point that it is impossible to stand 'outside' discourse, all meaning residing within specific discourses. It is, however, the act of moving between and juxtaposing discourses which exposes the limitations (as well as the possibilities) of the normative and the known. The recognition that learners themselves constitute "networks of associations", formed by particular sociocultural and cognitive experiences (Gee 1997:297) should help in reconfiguring the role of 'language teacher' to that of 'cultural mediator'.

References

Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The dialogic imagination.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Bourdieu, P. and Passeron, J.-C., (1990). *Reproduction in education, society and culture.* London: Sage Publications.

Byram, M. and Fleming, M.(eds.) (1998). *Language learning in intercultural perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Canale, M. and Swain, M. (1980). *Language and Communication.* London: Longman.

Carr, J. (1998). *Rethinking culture in the context of LOTE teaching and learning. Modern Language Teachers.'* Association of Queensland Quarterly, 14.

Carr, J. (1994). *'Culture' in the language classroom: a critical language awareness approach.* Australian Journal of Language and Literacy, Vol. 17, No.2.

Corson, D. (1997). Critical realism: An emancipatory philosophy for applied linguistics? Applied Linguistics, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 166-188.

Duranti, A. (1998). *Linguistic Anthropology.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crozet, C and Liddicoat, A. J. (1999). *'Turning promises into practices: the challenges of Intercultural Language Teaching'.* Australian Language Matters, Vol. 7, No. 1.

Fairclough, N. (ed.) (1992). *Critical language awareness.* London, New York: Longman.

Foucault, M. (1981). *The order of discourse.* In R. Young (ed.): *Untying the text: A Post Structuralist Reader.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Gee, J. (1997). *Meanings in discourses.* In S. Muspratt, A. Luke and P. Freebody (eds.) *Constructing critical literacies: Teaching and learning textual practice.* St. Leonards, N.S.W: Allen & Unwin.

Gee, J. (1993). *An introduction to human language: Fundamental concepts in linguistics.* New Jersey: Prentice Hall.

Gee, J. (1990). *Social linguistics and literacies: Ideology in discourses.* London: The Falmer Press.

Holliday, A. (1994). *Student culture and English language education: an international perspective.* Language, Culture and Curriculum, Vol. 7, No.2. pp.125-143.

Hymes, D. (1971). *Competence and performance in linguistic theory.* In R. Huxley and E. Ingrams (eds.). *Language acquisition: Models and methods.* London: Academic Press.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Kramsch, C. (1998). *The privilege of the intercultural speaker.* In Byram, M. and Fleming, M. (eds.) *Language learning in intercultural perspective.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lankshear, C. (1994). *Some thoughts on language, culture and politics of education.* In Critical Forum, Adult literacy and basic skills forum, Vol. 3, No. 1.

Lo Bianco, J. (1999). *'Struggle to speak: Taking funding away from aboriginal bi-lingual education'*, ALM, Vol. 7, No. 1.

Luke, A. (1997). *The material effects of the word: apologies, 'Stolen Children' and public discourse. Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*. Vol. 18, No. 3 pp. 343-368.

McCarthy, C. and Dimitriadis,G. (1998). *All consuming identities: race and the pedagogy of resentment in the age of difference*. Australian Universities' Review. Vol. 41, No. 2.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language*. Harlow England; New York: Longman.

Pennycook, A. (1997). *Cultural alternatives and autonomy*. In Benson, P. and P. (eds.) *Autonomy and independence in language learning*. London, New York: Longman.

Roberts, C. (1998). *Awareness in intercultural communication*. Language Awareness, Vol. 7, no 2&3, pp. 109-127.

Said, E. (1993) *The Idea of Empire, Arena*, 12/2/1993, London, BBC: quoted in Holliday, *Student culture and English language education: an international perspective*. Language, Culture and Curriculum,,Vol. 7, No.2, pp.125-143.

Sacks, O. (1999). *Conversation with Robin Williams*, ABC T.V., 24 April, 1999.

Singh, M. (1999). *Globalism, cultural diversity and tertiary education*. Australian Universities Review. Vol. 41, No. 2.

Wallace, C. (1995). *'Reading with a suspicious eye': Critical reading in the foreign language classroom*. In Cook, G. and Seidlhofer, B. (eds.) *Principle and practice in applied linguistics*. Studies in honour of H.G. Widdowson. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weirzbicka, A. (1997). *Understanding cultures through their key words*. New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Chapter 8

The Challenge of Intercultural Language Teaching: Engaging with Culture in the Classroom[1]

Chantal Crozet & Anthony J. Liddicoat

Introduction

Communicative Language Teaching in its endeavour to teach learners to communicate in a foreign language overlooked both the links between language and culture and the necessity to understand communication between non-native speakers (the language learners) and native speakers as *intercultural communication rather than communication in the target language.*

Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT) addresses the two main shortcomings of Communicative Language Teaching. As the emerging modern approach to language education it has shifted the aims of language learning from communicative competence to intercultural competence. Intercultural competence recognises that a second language is learnt in order to be used and that language use is fundamentally cultural. It takes as its starting point the idea that every time we use language we perform a cultural act (Kramsch 1993) and recognises for language learners that this involves two cultures: their own and that of the target language. As such these learners need to develop a cultural position which mediates between these two cultures.

In part one of this chapter: *Understanding the aims of Intercultural Language Teaching (ILT)* we propose a framework for understanding the aims of Intercultural Language Teaching from the practioner's point of view and concerns. We also discuss some approaches for depicting culture in spoken, writing and reading texts as a premise for successful ILT in the language classroom. In part two: *Turning promises into practices* we discuss the core features of the new pedagogy required for the practice of ILT.

Part I - Understanding the aims of Intercultural Language Teaching

Recently the *American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages* has recognised, in its new *National Standards in Foreign Education* (ACTFL) 1995), three dimensions to language learning expressed as 'the need for learning about cultures and comparing them as well as the need for 'intercultural exploration' (Fantini 1997)

In Australia, the new *National Assessment Framework for Languages* (NAFL:1998) in its aims, objectives and outcomes for language learning has selected the first two dimensions set by the ACTFL but it has omitted the third, in that it has not included intercultural exploration or for that matter any 'cultural knowledge' (Scarino 1998) as part of language teaching syllabus.

This omission suggests that new Australian guidelines for language education have not yet fully endorsed an Intercultural approach to Language Teaching. In the Languages Profile (AEC 1994), for example, issues related to language and culture appear only sporadically, and are limited to skills, such as recognising cultural allusions (Liddicoat 1997a).

In the discussion below we will make some suggestions for the understanding and appreciation of the 'cultural' factor in language use. Cultural (or socio-cultural) understanding is a key concept widely used in the literature on language teaching and in text books but is seldom defined for language educators. For example Carr (1998:48) quotes one teacher saying: 'Sociocultural understanding just seems to be there – as a heading – I had no idea what it meant, what I was supposed to do with it; so I skipped it because I didn't understand it'. We will then use the ACTFL three dimensions to language learning as a framework for understanding the goals of Intercultural Language Teaching. Finally we will comment on pedagogical issues relevant to the implementation of ILT.

The 'cultural factor' in language use

Jayasuriya's (1990) research on the effect of culture in cross-cultural communication is particularly relevant to Intercultural Language Teaching. He argues that culture is not a fixed autonomous entity and suggests after Williams (1977:63), that culture is best understood as 'an interrelated configuration of *archaic*, *residual* and *emergent cultures*'. This definition can be useful to language teachers as it can help trace the origins of cultural behaviours in individual interactions. We will briefly comment on each of these aspects of culture in communication:

- The *archaic culture* carries the past-historical patterns which have a symbolic value even if no longer relevant. Such historical patterns can for example be discerned in proverbs, expressions or colloquialisms used in everyday speech. For instance the common French expression 'J'ai du pain sur la planche' (literally meaning 'I have a lot of bread on the board' = 'I have a lot of work to do') refers to the time in France when most people at least in villages made their own bread on a regular basis as one of their chores.
- The *residual culture* represents the current, still effective, lived patterns of behaviour. For example in French conversation around the meal table compliments or other comments are almost invariably made about the food being eaten, revealing the well-known French 'pre-patterned' interest in eating.
- The *emergent culture* represents new ways of being/thinking in a culture which are

> evident for instance in the use of new forms of expressions. For instance, it is common in France today to speak about *'co-locataires or colocs'* (flatmates), reflecting the emerging new accommodation patterns of contemporary life.

Williams' (1977) paradigm is useful in that it locates culture in communication at a macro-level. The macro-level of culture in this sense is akin to shared established knowledge/patterns of interaction between people within a given society. However to answer language teachers' concerns of 'reducing cultural knowledge to a stereotypical level or just a set of facts' (Carr 1998), an understanding of how culture works at a more micro and dynamic level is necessary.

Jayasuriya (1990:14) suggests that to understand the relationship between culture and individual behaviour one needs to think of culture only as a blueprint for action as 'the manifest culture revealed in individual behaviour is selective, and not necessarily representative of a historical cultural tradition in its abstract form'. Individuals select from this cultural blueprint in order to act appropriately, but not reductively, in different social contexts within the same culture. This notion of selective cultural behaviour recognises that although an individual's use of language is to a certain extent 'bound' by her/his native cultural blueprint, s/he is also capable of creating a personal unique expression in communication. Interestingly, when teachers and language learners express their mistrust of 'cultural stereotypes' they show their intuitive knowledge that an individual is at the same time 'part of and beyond the culture s/he is born in'.

To account for both the *cultural* and *personal* variables in communication, language teachers, when analysing oral or written texts in the target language, can encourage their students to always ask questions about who the people interacting (or writing) are, for what purpose the language is used and in what context. These questions will ensure that language texts are understood within their cultural, personal and circumstantial dimensions.

Having broadly defined the concept of culture as relevant to cross-cultural communication, we can now turn to the understanding of the goals of Intercultural Language Teaching.

Understanding the goals of ILT

The ultimate goal of ILT is to help learners transcend their singular world view through the learning of a foreign linguaculture, [a term which recognises the intimate links between language and culture (Attinasi 1988)] leading them progressively towards intercultural competence. Byram offers a comprehensive definition of the competent intercultural speaker:

> 'An intercultural speaker is someone who can operate their linguistic competence and their sociolinguistic awareness of the relationship between language and the context in which it is used, in order to manage interaction across cultural boundaries, to anticipate misunderstandings caused by

difference in values, meanings and beliefs, and thirdly, to cope with the affective as well as cognitive demands of engagement with otherness'.

(Byram 1995)

In order to work towards this far-reaching vision of intercultural competencies, language teachers need to take a closer look at what it means in terms of language teaching/learning outcomes. This is why we endorsed earlier the three dimensions to language learning proposed by the ACTFL as representing the more concrete aims of ILT. We will now look at these dimensions in more details:

1. Learning about cultures:

For a long time it has been a commonly held belief that the best way to learn about a foreign culture was to be 'exposed' to it through, for example, study abroad. However no evidence so far has shown that study abroad leads to a better knowledge of a culture or improved cross-cultural understanding (Kramsch 1991). Rather the emerging consensus now is that culture is not learnt by osmosis, it requires an intellectual effort because culture is not readily accessible to be noticed, analysed and taught. Culture is embedded in language as an intangible, all-pervasive and highly variable force. How then are we to capture it in order to teach it?

We suggest that the macro levels of culture (ie: archaic, residual and eminent) in language use can be broken down into more specific features which show points of articulation between language and culture (see table 1) directly convertible into teachable material.

World knowledge in a foreign culture corresponds to what has been meant traditionally by 'teaching culture'. It encompasses the teaching of the general cultural traits and ways of life of a society, including literature, critical literacy, history, geography, institutions and the arts. This 'cultural' world knowledge is closer to culture than to language *per se*.

Culture				**Language**
World knowledge	spoken/written genres	pragmatic norms	norms of interaction	grammar/lexicon kinesics/prosody pronunciation
⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇	⬇
culture in context	culture in general structure of text	culture within shorter units of text	culture in organisation of units of text	culture in linguistic structures/words/ syntax/non-verbal

Table 1 : Points of articulation between culture and language

Culture in spoken and written genres is embedded in the general structure of text. For example culture is found in the way official or intimate letters are written in different countries, the type of information which ought to come first and last, what is acceptable content, etc... A speech, (as a genre of oral text), also reflects culture in the way it has been structured.

Pragmatic and interactional norms refer to the way culture is manifested in spoken and written language. In pragmatic norms, culture is visible in shorter units of texts such as speech acts (eg. *thanking* in Japanese differs from *thanking* in Anglo-Australian). Interactional norms refer more to the way units of speech such as openings or closings in a conversation are organised (Liddicoat 1997b).

In grammar, lexicon, kinesics, prosody and pronunciation culture is also present interwoven into linguistic structures, words, syntax and non-verbal language.

Learning about culture and how culture links up with language as we have shown is a complex task and require language teachers to rethink the content of their subject matter.

2. Comparing cultures

ILT implies that language teaching is no longer exclusively teaching about another linguaculture, it is also teaching language learners about their native linguaculture by contrasting it to the target linguaculture. ILT expands the traditional boundaries of language teaching by positioning language learning as a dual endeavour whereby learners not only learn the invisible cultural features of a foreign language but they also learn how to distance themselves from their native language/culture environment to see it for the first time as what it really is, as just one possible world view and not the *only* world view. ILT seen in this light has the genuine potential to help create harmony in a multicultural society such as Australia as it induces language learners to recognise their own ethnicity and to appreciate that it is a valid but ultimately an arbitrary construct, one of many. Our native culture *naturalises* the world. We presume that the world is the way our culture predisposes us to see it. However, ILT as an approach to the study of other languages makes culture visible - rather than the invisible pattern our own language tells us its is. ILT also emphasises that everyone has an ethnicity which is to be valued and that ethnicity is not limited to those outside the dominant culture. Everybody has an *ethnic* background.

3. Intercultural exploration

The third dimension of ILT is the least explicitly discussed in the current professional discourse of language teaching and this is not surprising. Intercultural competence is now a wide ranging concept which encompasses all the strategies and approaches any given person might use to shift from a monocultural to a more multicultural view of any subject matter.

Fantini (1997) makes the point that intercultural competence has attracted interest from many groups, one of them being what he has called 'the interculturalists'.

Interculturalists have mainly worked on the development of intercultural competence as *a general skill.* It can develop without having to learn a foreign language. Interculturalists typically run the now popular courses on 'general cross-cultural training' which, useful though they be, are more about discussing intercultural concepts in one's own tongue (and/or comparing cultures in general terms) than offering the experience *of an alternative form of communication through the learning of a foreign language.* Language educators on the other hand who traditionally draw more upon linguistics to define their subject matter, have not yet fully explored how intercultural competence can be achieved through language learning. Language educators and interculturalists have much to gain in working together to support the development of intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence (IC) is more than learning *about* cultures and contrasting cultures. These are best thought of as the first two preparatory steps leading to IC. IC is the ability to create for oneself a comfortable *third* place (Kramsch, 1993:13) between one's first linguaculture and the target linguaculture. IC is not in this sense learning how to parrot foreign cultural codes in order to interact seemingly successfully with foreigners. In fact people who interact with non-native speakers do not normally expect the non-native speakers to be exactly like native speakers (Mase 1989:37), however native speakers do expect recognition of differences in the first instance and then negotiation of these differences which allow both parties to be comfortable. Hence negotiation of differences is a personal and inter-personal creative process which cannot be controlled by external forces. For this reason it cannot be 'taught' by a language teacher. This is why the ACTFL has rightly identified intercultural *exploration* (and not learning) as one of the three goals of ILT. The role of language teachers for this third dimension of language learning is more of a supportive one in which they can help language learners articulate and resolve the conflicts they (the learners) will encounter in trying to reconcile the sometimes opposite values between their native and target languages/cultures. This self-reflectivity is necessary to create 'a coherent set of meanings from conflicting sources of reality' Jayasuriya (1990:22).

Studies of 'contact situations' (communication between native speakers and non-speakers) are relevant here for the understanding of the 'intercultural linguistic space'. Neustpuny (1982, 1988 & 1995) for example argues that sociocultural norms between native speakers and non-native speakers represent two distinct sets of norms (ie: native norms and intercultural norms) and that language learners need to be made aware of this difference. We believe language teachers can benefit from research which identifies differences of cultural norms between native communications and intercultural communications however we maintain that the 'intercultural linguistic space' is by nature a 'negotiation zone' where native and non-native speakers create interculturality largely as a interpersonal process. More enquiries into what happens in the 'intercultural space' are however needed. As part of their professional development language teachers and cross-cultural trainers need to follow this new field of applied linguistic research as it is directly relevant to language teaching/learning practice.

Illustration of the three dimensional aspects of ILT for beginners in a foreign language.

The goals of ILT can seem overwhelming. They can also appear to apply only to advanced learners of a language. However, the pervasive nature of culture in language means that culture is present in all forms of language from simple to elaborate texts. No simple text for this reason is actually 'simple'. Language learning is therefore a three dimensional complex cultural exploration from day one.

For example, using a ILT approach to teach 'greetings' in a foreign language (usually taught to beginners) can no longer be limited to teaching the usual 'greeting vocabulary' (ie: Good morning, goodbye etc...). Depending of the culture in which 'greeting' happens this might involve teaching non-verbal codes in greeting (for instance kissing rituals in France or bowing rituals in Japanese), it will also look at what people say to each other apart from 'hello' and 'goodbye' and in what order they say it (ie. inquiring about health or need for food, asking about relatives to show intimacy etc... Liddicoat (1997) and Crozet and Liddicoat (1997) have shown how greetings and farewells in conversations are highly culturally specific in the length, content and ways in which they are performed.

Language educators' calls for more culturally specific language teaching material has to be addressed at this level of cultural content.

Once teaching culture in greetings is achieved, contrasting greetings between learners first and second cultures can follow (or be done concomitantly) and this in turn can lead to intercultural exploration. In our example this would for instance involve discussing to what extent learners might feel comfortable kissing or bowing during a greeting sequence, learners would learn to establish a personal balance between what feels natural in their native culture and the need not to offend the native speaker with whom they are relating. A resolution of the conflictual situation in this case could be a statement in which the non-native speaker recognises the cultural differences overtly as well as their response to it which could be expressed in the following sentence: 'I know kissing (or bowing) in your culture is important but I am not quite comfortable with it'. This statement is more likely to attract empathy than rejection from the native speaker and hence make both parties comfortable.

The three steps to intercultural competence can be applied at all levels of language practice in all forms of language expressions.

Intercultural Language Teaching represents a significant expansion of traditional language education. The inclusion of *culture* to the teaching of language is not new but the way we understand culture as relating to language is (Liddicoat 1997b:55). It is this shift in what constitutes cultural understanding which forces language educators to teach about communication in much more depth than they had to before when language teaching was limited to the teaching of linguistic forms or functions.

Part II - Turning promises into practices

The goals of ILT can be overwhelming since they imply that language teachers review, to a significant degree, the content of their subject matter. Language teachers need to reflect on what the far-reaching vision of ILT also entails in terms of new guidelines for practice. They also need the support they seldom find in language teaching materials to transform new rhetoric into successful practice in the classroom (Fantini 1997; McMeniman 1997; Carr 1998).

We will now outline and comment on the main points discussed in the literature on ILT with regard to the new pedagogy required to implement this contemporary approach to language education.

ILT can be divided into five main areas. These areas are shown in table two below and are discussed in more detail below.

1. Culture is not acquired through osmosis. It must be taught explicitly.
2. The bilingual / multilingual speaker is the norm.
3. Conceptual and experiential learning is required to acquire intercultural competence.
4. Role of teachers and learners are redefined.
5. New approaches to language testing are needed to assess intercultural competence.

Table 2: The main points of ILT pedagogy

1. Culture is not acquired through osmosis. It must be taught explicitly.

This principle has enormous implications for language teachers. Teachers will have to learn to depict what we have called in our earlier article 'the cultural factor' in all spoken and written forms of language before they can teach it. They will have to be able to do so in their native linguaculture as well as the linguaculture they aim to teach since ILT implies the comparison of cultures. This crucial aspect of ILT becomes even more complex if we consider that the language classroom is becoming more and more a *multicultural* rather than just a *bicultural* context. A language learner of Japanese in Australia is no longer necessarily a monolingual speaker of English but might have another language like Arabic as their mother tongue. The issue in this case (from the language teacher's point of view) would be to help this language learner recognise 'the cultural factor' in the three languages the learner is using or with which they have some familiarity. This emphasises the need for teachers to identify culture as an explorative process they can undertake with learners rather than having to solely rely on research in cross-cultural discourse. No research could cater for all possible cross-cultural combinations teachers will encounter in the now more and more common multicultural language classroom. Teachers who wish to implement ILT need to study what culture in language use means and how to go about finding it.

2. The bilingual / multilingual speaker is the norm.

This second principle of the ILT pedagogy entails two issues. Firstly, in ILT the *bilingual or multilingual speaker* is the goal to aim for since only this is what a language learner can be or become. This represents a shift from previous language teaching approaches which have tended to see erroneously the *native speaker* as the norm to aim for. It also implies that if language learners are going to practice being bilingual (or multilingual) then learners' other language(s) (first or second) need to be allowed into the language classroom.

Learning a language necessarily implies *learning about languages* and what they hold in common, as well as about the ways in which they are the expression of specific cultures. It is in this sense that applied ILT has the potential to help learners adopt a more multicultural view of the world through the practice of multiculturalism in what can now be truly called the *language* classroom, the class in which one learns about language and its links to culture. Vigilance is required from language teachers to ensure that the need to learn about language(s) is balanced with the need to learn the target language.

3. Conceptual and experiential learning is required to acquire intercultural competence.

Firstly, since ILT implies learning about languages and cultures (or linguacultures), new concepts (metaknowledge) about the mechanics of human communication need to be introduced to learners using a new metalanguage which enables both teachers and learners to talk about language and culture. This might include for instance teaching learners the meaning of *genres, registers, pragmatic norms* etc...

It would also include introducing (or re-introducing) grammatical metaknowledge such as *noun, pronoun, moods* and *tenses* since ILT focuses on both the cultural and linguistic factors in language use. Secondly apart from more strictly conceptual learning ILT requires learners to experience extensively and intensively the target linguaculture since it is only through the regulating effect of experience that new concepts can be fully acquired (Vygostsky 1962, Di Pietro 1987). In an ILT approach this means that language teachers need to provide ample tasks in the classroom where learners can be exposed to the target language and be allowed to use it in creative ways. Experiential language learning also implies that not only cognition but also feelings be recognised in ILT as both playing a role in the acquisition of intercultural competence.

Intercultural competence involves the whole person. It makes learning a foreign language more than learning skills as it involves a lot of self-reflection where both thoughts and feelings play a part in negotiating meaningful resolution between potential linguacultural clashes.

4. Role of teachers and learners are redefined.

We have already pointed out that a successful implementation of ILT requires teachers to become not only learners of language but also 'learners of culture'. As ILT also involves self-reflection (ie. learning about one's own culture) the best classroom environment is one which favours a learner-centred approach which does not however undermine the learner's need to be taught about culture in language use. In other words, learners need to be given the space to explore the target linguaculture and at the same time they need to be taught about the 'cultural factor' in the target language by well informed teachers.

5. New approaches to language testing are needed to assess intercultural competence.

The assessment of intercultural competence as described in this paper has not yet entered the realm of language testing. Teaching and assessment are linked. Policy, curriculum documents and assessment scales need to include cultural content specifically. When it does it is bound to transform radically the very way we have conceived the goals of language teaching and learning. The main challenge will be to stop thinking of language learning in terms of the acquisition of skills only and to shift to a more holistic and dynamic view of language education which is both product and process oriented.

Conclusion

Communicative Language Teaching endeavoured to teach about communication in a foreign language and believed that this would lead to intercultural understanding, tolerance and harmony between different cultures. It failed however on two counts. Firstly by not having fully recognised the links between language and culture, it did not provide an approach to depicting culture in language use though it did promote the teaching of culture as adjunct knowledge to language. Secondly Communicative Language Teaching did not see that learning about 'another' culture was not enough to promote understanding between cultures. For this, the awareness of one's own culture is necessary. Intercultural Language teaching however can turn the promises of the Communicative Approach into practices by recognising and acting at the level of practice on the three dimensional aspects to intercultural competence: learning about cultures, comparing cultures and intercultural exploration.

ILT means a change in the way in which language is both conceptualised and taught. It is an approach which makes multiculturalism the centre of the language classroom and which uses learners' own knowledge as the starting point for intercultural exploration. As such, the ILT classroom reflects the realities of a multilingual world and assist learners to develop ways of negotiating their path through such a world, with language as the centre of their experiences of multiculturalism. ILT is, therefore, an approach to language teaching which is not a set of finite skills but a creative process of learning in which both teachers and students are engaged.

Endnote

1. This chapter is based on two articles published in Australian Language Matters (Vol. 7 No. 1 1999, and Vol. 7 No. 2 1999 (in print)).

References

ACTFL, (American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages) (1995). *The national standards in foreign education.* New York : Author.

NAFL, (National Assessment Framework for Languages) (1998). *Shell for Developing Continuing Level Syllabuses.* Unpublished document.

Attinasi, J. and Friedrich, P. (1988). *Dialogic Breakthrough: Catalysis and Synthesis in Life-changing Dialogue.* Unpublished manuscript.

Byram, M. (1995). *Intercultural Competence and Mobility in Multinational contexts: A European View.* Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Carr, J., L.Commin and J.Crawford. (1998). *External evaluation of the Lote curriculum project (years 4-10).*, Queensland University of Technology. School of Language and Literacy Education.

Crozet, C. & Liddicoat, A. J. (1997) *Teaching culture as an integrated part of language teaching: An introduction.* In Chantal Crozet and Anthony.J Liddicoat (eds) Teaching Language, Teaching Culture. ARAL Series S no.14 (1-22).

Di Pietro, J. R. (1987). *Strategic Interaction, Learning Languages through scenarios.*, CUP.

Fantini, A. E. (ed.) (1997). *New Ways in Teaching Culture,* TESOL, USA.

Jayasuriya, K. (1990). *The problematic of culture and identity in cross-cultural theorising.,* Dpt of Social Work and Social Administration. University of Western Australia, Nedlands, Fineline Perth.

Kramsch, C. (1991). *Culture in Language Learning: a view from the U.S.* In Kees de Bot, Ralph B. Ginsberg and Claire Kramsch, (eds) *Foreign Language Research in Cross-cultural Perspective.* John Benjamins (217- 240).

Kramsch, C. (1993) *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* OUP.

Liddicoat, A. J. (1997a) *Communication in LOTE: Writing and Oral Interaction.* MLTA, Canberrra.

Liddicoat, A.J (1997b) *Everyday speech as culture: Implications for language teaching.* In Anthony.J. Liddicoat and Chantal Crozet (eds) *Teaching Language, Teaching Culture.* ARAL Series S no.14 (55-70).

Mase, Y., Okano, H. and Ito, S. (1989). *Gaikokujin no gengo-kodo ni taisuru Nihonjin no ishiki (Japanese Reactions toward Foreigners' Linguistic Behavior).* Nihongo Kyoiku (67): 25-47.

McMeniman, M., and Evans, R. (1997). *The contribution of language learning to the development of cultural understandings.* ARAL 20(2): 1-18.

Neustpuny, J. V. (1982). *Gaikokujin to no komyunikeeshon (Communication with foreigners).* Tokyo, Iwanami Shoten.

Neustpuny, J. V. (1988). *'Australia and Japan: Cross-cultural communication problems.'* Vox 1 28-32.

Neustpuny, J. V. (1995). *Atarashii nihongokyouiku no tame ni (For the sake of new trend teaching Japanese methodology).* Tokyo, Taishuukan.

Scarino, A. (1998) *Comments on the Languages Syllabus Framework.* Unpublished manuscript, School of International Studies. University of South Australia.

Vygostsky, L. S. (1962). *Thought and language.* New York, MIT Press and John Wiley Sons

Williams, R. (1977) *Marxism and Literature.* Cambridge, CUP.

Chapter 9
What Culture Do We Teach?

Helen FitzGerald

Introduction

The need to integrate the teaching of culture with that of a second or foreign language, at all levels of language teaching, is now becoming more widely accepted. It has been convincingly demonstrated that learning a language without at the same time being made aware of the socio-cultural and pragmatic norms taken for granted by native speakers can result in language usage which has quite negative results for the user (Gumperz 1982, Thomas 1983). However, this approach to language teaching does not yet appear to be the prevailing one professed by language teachers (Crozet & Liddicoat 1997). It is not easy to establish the extent to which the teaching of culture is actually achieved and not enough appropriate teaching materials are available. Furthermore, when teaching English as a Second Language (ESL) in a multicultural country like Australia, the question arises as to exactly what should be taught under the broad heading of culture. In this article, the discussion will be limited to what should be taught in ESL classes for adult migrants in Australia.

Approaches to teaching ESL: from the native speaker model to cross-cultural understanding

The most common approach is still, perhaps, the 'native speaker model': the aim is to teach native-like communicative competence to learners. The norms reflected in Australian, English and American textbooks, together with the teachers' often unquestioned, intuitive knowledge, are passed on to the learners, usually without being made explicit, and in some instances, with the assumption that these norms are universal. Thus learners are expected to learn about culture by osmosis, through some sort of immersion or exposure to the culture both in the classroom and outside. This approach ignores the fact that there is no evidence that such exposure heightens cultural awareness and understanding: in fact, it is now becoming accepted that culture is not accessible in this way and that a more intellectual effort on the part of the learner is required (Crozet & Liddicoat 1999). The materials and methodologies used are often highly culture bound, even ethnocentric, and many teachers take it for granted that these are the most advanced and effective materials and methodologies. This approach has been widely criticised as ignoring reality and failing to see the acquisition of such communicative competence as a process of cultural assimilation (Baxter 1983, Pennycook 1994). It ignores the fact that a country such as Australia has recently experienced mass migration from non-English speaking countries and a high proportion of professional people, as well as those working in other areas, may have only one generation of association with English, or be non-native speakers. As Clyne et al (1991) point out, this model is not appropriate in a such a society as it mistakenly assumes that the only people learners will have problems communicating with are native speakers. It presupposes that communicative problems are minimal or non-existent when 'ethnic' Australians from different backgrounds interact.

This model also ignores the fact that in today's world, teachers are not preparing learners for the domestic workplace and society only. Many Australian workers are operating internationally either on overseas assignments of various lengths or through new technologies of communication. The realities of this situation lead to the conclusion that what is needed is intercultural communication training and takes account of the fact that norms in intercultural interactions differ from those in native communication' (Neustupny 1985). Ideally, such training should also be given to native speakers. Indeed, Loveday (1982:33) suggests that all native speakers should be taught how to communicate with those who speak their language as a second language. However, he admits that it is not likely that native speakers would relinquish their 'often inexplicit perceptions of identity to successfully integrate others'. Given this situation, the question becomes to what extent can non-native speakers be expected to become competent in language-specific terms and to what extent in terms of intercultural competence. How can teachers include both in their classrooms? This article will explore this issue.

There may be those who would still argue in favour of the immersion approach in Australian ESL classrooms. The justification for such an approach is that this way of learning about the new culture mirrors for learners what they face in the society outside the classroom: indeed, that it prepares them for these realities by providing a gentle introduction in the relatively safe environment of the classroom. Moreover, it is argued that with low level learners there is no choice: culture cannot be made explicit. However, as Loveday (1982: 52) has argued, 'There is no evidence to suggest that mere exposure will contribute to effective understanding and functioning in a different cultural environment'. Indeed he goes on to assert that 'if teachers do not clarify underlying assumptions, this may even lead to contempt and hostility on the part of the learner who applies his own cultural framework as a yardstick'.

Other researchers support this view. In addition they point out that such reactions can impede learning. This also applies to using teaching methods which are highly culture specific and unfamiliar to learners, unless they are introduced gradually and sensitively and, where possible, their purpose explained and their use justified. According to Little and Sanders (1990), students from traditional backgrounds do not value unfamiliar activities with a communicative or process orientation at all highly, while Jarvis (1986) points out that if the disjuncture between a learner's old set of beliefs and the new experience is too great, this produces passive resistance or non-learning in the learner. Mangubhai (1997) echoes this conclusion pointing out that the rejection of new, very different values together with negative experiences with the dominant group may result in a lack of achievement in an educational setting. These views are relevant to the teaching of ESL. It is possible that the failure of some students to learn English, the fact that some 'drop out' of class and the fact that many never access classes may to some extent be related to these issues.

This is not to claim that this type of approach is the only one taken in ESL classrooms. A number of experts in the field of language teaching, in general, are now redefining communicative competence to include intercultural understanding (Crozet & Liddicoat 1997). It is argued that widely accepted views of what constitutes communicative competence (Canale & Swan 1980, Bachman 1990) need to be widened to include intercultural awareness and metapragmatic awareness so that learners can make informed choices about how they wish to express themselves. Experts are also arguing for the implementation of curricula that would address these concerns. The 1989 publication, Current Guidelines for Adult Learners in Australia edited by Candlin and McNamara is a good example. In addition, it would appear that many ESL teachers now have cross-cultural or intercultural communication training (the terms are commonly used interchangeably) and are aware of the pitfalls of this type of approach. According to Davison (1998) one of the major differences between literacy and ESL teachers in Australia is that the latter have had cross-cultural communication training. In my own faculty at the Canberra Institute of Technology, most ESL teachers have voluntarily attended an 18 hour culture and communication course as part of their professional development. However, this course did not explicitly demonstrate how to apply the knowledge and skills acquired on the course in the classroom. This was left to the teachers as individuals. In general, nationally, teachers are viewed as professionals, and while there are now national syllabi and procedures for accountability, there does not seem to be any systematic, widespread monitoring of methodology or the extent to which teachers make cultural knowledge explicit or teach intercultural competence.

WHAT culture and HOW culture needs to be taught in ESL contexts

Yet it would appear that teachers need to think consciously about what they are teaching under the heading of culture, what cultural assumptions they are expressing implicitly or explicitly and the effect of these on their students. They should be aware that some learners may feel it is necessary to learn the language for their livelihood and so remain silent about the fact that the language reflects and promotes values quite distasteful, even abhorrent to them. They should also be aware of the criticisms of their teaching approaches. Williams (1995: 21 - 24) outlines the arguments of a number of researchers who have been critical of the assimilationist nature of ESL teaching and concludes that they present a strong case. He suggests that ESL teachers may be guilty of unwittingly 'providing assimilationist and disempowering practice' even when their motives are to empower their students 'by increasing their ability to operate in and transform the mainstream'. He concludes that present approaches need to be critically evaluated because unless 'a balance is found between the provision of an orientation to the mainstream and a respect for students' cultural origins', teachers will continue to do 'the devil's work' without even realising it.

This may not be an easy task but it must be attempted. As suggested above, learners need to acquire knowledge of the cultural values underlying the English language and its usage by native speakers and develop the ability to interact effectively with native speakers in Australian society. Moreover, as Crozet and Liddicoat (1999) point out, because these learners have different cultural backgrounds, they will require intercultural competence as well as a knowledge of native speaker norms to achieve this. In addition, learners need to develop the intercultural competence to communicate effectively internationally and with the approximately one in four Australians (first and second generation) from over one hundred different non-English speaking backgrounds. The first requirement may be the most difficult to achieve successfully. The key point here is that this learning must be additive, not subtractive: it must encourage biculturalism and bilingualism and not demand conformity to, or adoption of, the norms of the dominant group in the society.

Clyne (1994) explicates these concerns eloquently when he points out that the achievement of native-like communicative behaviour may involve changing not only an individual's cultural value system but also their psychological makeup. Clearly it is morally unacceptable to expect people to have to make such a dramatic identity shift in order to be successful in their new society. On the other hand, he accepts that quite a high degree of communicative competence in English is necessary for access to power and even to some extent to information, and that, therefore, some active command of what he describes as 'Anglo communication rules' may be necessary for instrumental motives. However, it should not be to an extent that threatens identity. Most importantly, adult learners must be given the necessary information to make their own choices. He sees biculturalism and bilingualism as bringing socioeconomic and psychological advantages. In this case, then, this should be the aim of ESL teaching. Some writers believe that what is involved is assisting each individual to find their own third position between their first culture and that of the new language they are learning. (Kramzch 1993, Liddicoat 1997) or, to express it another way, 'negotiating a place for themselves between the two' (Crozet 1996:54).

Keeping this aim in mind, learners do need to understand the cultural values and communication patterns preferred in mainstream Australian society so that they are aware of expectations and reactions. The reality is that monolingual, monocultural native speakers are still often the 'gate keepers' in Australian society. Research has shown conclusively that different language groups have preferred ways of communicating and interacting that differ significantly from one another (Gumperz 1982, Tannen 1984, Clyne 1994). Yet many non-native speakers transfer the communication rules, pragmatic features and discourse patterns appropriate in their first language when using a second language. This is partly because these features of language use are far more difficult to master than features such as syntax and vocabulary. There is evidence that native speakers do not judge mistakes in grammar, lexicon and pronunciation as harshly as they do these pragmatic and interactional differences. This is particularly so when a speaker has a high level of proficiency in the linguistic aspects of language use. If the proficiency level is low, the native speaker does not expect interactional skills, but if it is high, there is more opportunity to display such patterns and people are mistakenly judged in terms of attitude and ability. In fact, it is believed that this type of transfer causes most of the problems in intercultural communication (Byrne & FitzGerald 1996, Clyne 1994, Erikson & Shultz 1982, Chick 1985, Gumperz 1982). Very different expectations about what constitutes good interpersonal communication can equally cause misunderstandings and negative evaluations between non-native speakers from different cultural backgrounds (Clyne 1994).

For these reasons it is necessary to teach people about these pragmatic and interactional differences which are in turn based on different cultural values. The key point here is that it must never be assumed that the values and style preferred in mainstream Australian culture are superior to others or are accepted by all Australians. Moreover, it must be stressed that they are being taught and in some cases practised so that individuals can make an informed choice about the extent to which they may accept new attitudes and vary their style. The emphasis should always be on widening knowledge and extending a repertoire of styles, an additive not a subtractive approach, not the replacing of old ways with new ones. The aim should be to eschew assimilation and to encourage biculturalism or, alternatively, the conscious and limited adoption of new attitudes and communication styles in order to achieve specific goals. Cowley and Hanna (1997:133) articulate this concept in an expressive way when they suggest that the new culture can be revealed as 'an interlocking series of manageable practices which students can try on without having to change their own wardrobe'.

Researchers discussing the need to teach culture in the language classroom suggest that the best method is to compare the socio-cultural and pragmatic norms of the learners' first language with that of the target language, for teachers to act as cultural mediators and to explain the differences explicitly using a metacultural language. For example, Crozet & Liddicoat (1997:11) discuss thanking behaviour, pointing out that 'different societies thank in different contexts and some things which may require thanks in one culture may not require thanks in another'. They explain the significant differences between English and Japanese thanking behaviour as an example. This approach is clearly the right one. However, in many ESL classrooms, there can be learners with twenty or more different first languages. How do you address this problem? I believe that one answer is to provide information about the broad patterns of cultural differences and communication styles identified in the literature, including those of the English-speaking cultures and features that are specific to Australian culture. As well, both before and after making learners aware of these patterns, teachers should take every opportunity to make explicit comparisons between languages, using examples which highlight both similarities and differences and which reflect the range of first languages in the group. Indeed this sort of comparison should be made from the very beginning. Even simple language offers the opportunity to teach cultural understanding because it is often very basic formulaic language which is most heavily culture-loaded (Crozet & Liddicoat 1997). Indeed, to argue that it is necessary to wait until learners have reached a certain level of linguistic proficiency is to ignore the fact that they are learning cultural practices from day one of a language course (Cowley& Hanna 1997).

Cultural Frameworks

What are these broad frameworks of cultural value systems and preferred communication styles? Before describing them briefly, it is necessary to point out that researchers warn about the problems and dangers inherent in trying to place shifting and intangible concepts such as cultural values into frameworks or onto scales. In terms of research, the ideal is to study and describe each culture separately and where possible in language that is culture-free, for example, Wierzbicka's natural semantic metalanguage (Wierzbicka 1991). However, in terms of practical application as in ESL classrooms or on training courses aimed at reducing ethnocentricity and developing intercultural awareness and skills, such knowledge would be encyclopaedic in scale and not accessible or manageable.

There is also the danger that these frameworks may lead to unproductive stereotyping and to seeing culture as static. There is a belief in some quarters that teaching different value systems and communication styles leads to negative stereotyping and the mistaken belief that it is not necessary to view the person one is communicating with as an individual. (Irwin 1996). Clearly these concerns must be addressed: it is vital to remember the individual dimension, to acknowledge the intangible and changing nature of the cultures and subcultures we belong to, and to only use cultural frameworks as a rough guide. At the same time, it does seem that a refusal to explicate these differences in a multicultural society can be based on the ethnocentric view that values and communication styles other than the dominant one are inferior. In contexts such as ESL classrooms, where a diverse group of people have no feelings of inferiority about their cultural background, they react to explicit descriptions of these differences with delighted recognition. It only seems to be with members of a dominant majority in a multicultural society, or minority groups conditioned to accept inferiority, that this insistence on avoiding any discussion of specific differences arises. As Adler (1991) remarks, it is not recognising cultural differences that is the problem, it is judging them good or bad. Moreover, social psychologists claim that there are socially desirable aspects of stereotyping in multicultural societies. They argue that acts of categorisation are basically helpful, the difficulty is with overgeneralisations and negative evaluations directed towards members of the categories. They admit that inaccurate stereotypes and ones that carry negative evaluations do constitute a problem, but in their opinion, other stereotypes 'can make us aware of, and keep readily available, information that is important to have handy in day-to-day multicultural interactions' (Berry et al 1992:299).

Teachers can stress the difference between useful non-static stereotypes or generalisations used as aids in understanding but always liable to modification in the light of new evidence compared with static overgeneralisations which need to be protected from any new evidence. They should stress that what they are describing are general tendencies only and that culture is dynamic. Indeed, each interaction that takes place in this society is further developing what we can label 'Australian culture'. Teachers should also stress individual differences and the role of personality, while keeping in mind that it is equally unwise to dismiss the role of culture, and see all behaviour as individual. As pointed out before, this leads to the misguided evaluations, for example, of intention, motivation, intelligence, and character.

With these provisos in mind, teaching about the broad frameworks which researchers have identified can aid in the interpretation of behaviour and communicative intentions in intercultural interactions. The most useful of these are the collectivism versus individualism dimension and the high versus low power distance (or hierarchical versus egalitarian) dimension. Researchers from a number of fields, and both western and eastern backgrounds, have provided substantial evidence for these dimensions and view them as powerful explanatory tools (Hofstede 1991, Sohn 1983, Bond 1991, Berry et al 1992, Trompenaas 1993). Another particularly useful dimension in relation to intercultural communication is achievement versus ascription, (the way in which status is accorded). In achievement-oriented cultures, social status results from the individual's own performance and achievements: in ascription-oriented societies, it is based on factors such as family background or the university attended. A fourth dimension, universalism versus particularism, indicates the degree of importance placed on rules and laws applied equally to all compared with a stronger emphasis on the relationships involved and a tendency to bend the rules if relatives or friends are involved (Trompenaas 1993). In most cases, the same four dimensions will be found to be dominant in any one culture: that is, high power distance, particularism and an orientation to ascription are most commonly found in collectivist cultures and low power distance, universalism and an achievement-orientation in individualist cultures. These frameworks work best when seen as a continuum on which cultures can be placed depending, for example, on the extent to which a culture values the group more highly than the individual and vice versus. The important point is that it is a matter of degree, of what is prioritised. It is not that societies have different values, but as Wierzbicka (1991:69) explains, 'they have different hierarchies of values'. This view is supported by Rokeach (1976) who identified thirty six values which appear in all societies but which as total systems differ significantly in terms of priorities or hierarchies.

As stressed earlier, the ways in which people prefer to communicate are strongly influenced by these cultural values. One of the first and broadest descriptions of culturally based communication styles was that of Hall (1976, 1987). He described two styles: high context (in which talk tends to be indirect and much of the message is conveyed by means other than words) and low context (in which talk is more direct and explicit and more of the message is carried in words). Work in the field of communication studies aligns individualism with low context communication and collectivism with high context communication. Indeed, it has been claimed that the dimensions of low-high communication and individualism-collectivism are isomorphic (Gudykunst et al 1988). There is evidence to support this view in relation to many cultures. Gudykunst and his colleagues further develop Hall's framework and describe four stylistic modes. Linguists and cross-cultural pragmatists such as Wierzbicka (1991), Tannen (1984) and Clyne (1994) also make more than two distinctions. Clyne, for example, (1994) identifies four broad communication styles. In general, the findings of these various researchers correlate even though their approaches differ.

Among the most important features of these styles in terms of intercultural communication are turn-taking differences, differences in the distribution of talk, differences in the organisation of information and preferred rhetorical style, differences in the degree of directness of talk and different attitudes to the acceptability of disagreement and direct criticism. An awareness of these different styles and preferences can help facilitate good intercultural communication and prevent negative evaluations of ability and personality. It is important to point out the way in which these styles reflect the values of the culture and to eschew any belief that one style is universally applicable or acceptable. As Clyne (1994) stresses, it is vital that people know there are these variations and recognise that they are all equally valid. In fact, a range of styles can be useful: it is possible to demonstrate in simulations that certain aspects of each style can be particularly effective in different situations and that the use of one style in all contexts can be very limiting.

At same time, it is necessary to point out that many people, including those in positions of power in Australia, think their style is universally applicable. Indeed, communication courses in Australian tertiary institutions talk about the 'principles of good communication' when they are actually talking about features valued only in English- speaking cultures. As a result, they make evaluations from a monocultural not an intercultural perspective and make negative judgments about the spoken and written communication skills of people from non-English speaking backgrounds. This can have serious consequences for individuals in relation to, for example, job interviews and academic results. In general, people from English-speaking backgrounds make negative judgements of other groups often seeing them as either pushy, aggressive and overemotional or as shy, passive, and evasive. They may be unaware that in return these other groups can see them as either cold, boring and uninvolved or rude, simplistic and uncivilised. These judgements can be made about individuals without people realising that it is their different communication styles that are the underlying cause of such negative evaluations. It is helpful for both native and non-native speakers to be made aware of these realities. Native speakers may not always be prepared to accept the equal validity of these styles in the domestic context. However, it is possible to illustrate the consequences for them in international dealings if they insist on some sort of superiority or universality for their style. In general, those people who have had some experience of other cultures readily accept these frameworks relating both to values and communication. They explain things which they sensed but could not always explicate.

Once learners become aware of these patterns, many aspects of language use such as differences in forms of address, verbal and non-verbal feedback, appropriateness of topics and expressions of speech acts (such as greetings, apologies, compliments, disagreement) can be explained in this wider context. For example, the widespread use of first names in Australian English can be better understood as an expression of the high value placed on egalitarianism.

Indeed, if learners are informed about these frameworks, they can see where mainstream Australian culture fits in, in general. It helps them make sense of all the values and attitudes and communication norms taken for granted in many of the language textbooks as well as the requirements of competencies such as oral presentations, letter writing and discussion essays which they are expected to master. Furthermore, it helps them to better understand the values and purposes that underlie the process of job selection and promotion in this society, processes which are taught in work preparation classes and usually also in orientation classes. There is no doubt as to learners' appreciation of such culturally explicit teaching. They often comment on the way it helps them make sense of their experience here and understand their own cultural background better.

Including some explicit teaching about related areas such as 'culture shock' is also immensely helpful for new immigrants. They comment on the way in which it helps them overcome possibly counter-productive, even destructive, reactions by preparing them for what they might experience or are already experiencing. It helps them to know that this type of reaction is a common and necessary result of the changes they are experiencing and helps modify the negative feelings they may have developed about the new culture, feelings which obviously could impede their acquisition of the language and the necessary communicative competence.

Language and culture in workplace communication

As mentioned previously, an awareness of these broad frameworks relating to cultural value systems and communication styles helps students understand the values and purposes underlying job selection and promotion processes in the workplace. Acquiring this information and the related intercultural communication skills also helps prepare students for the workplace in general. As Mawer (1992) points out, the restructuring of the workplace has made good communication, problem-solving skills, teamwork and meeting skills priorities. Communicative competence in such a context is not based only on linguistic accuracy, the successful management of an interaction is also a criterion. While problem-solving discussions are a predominant feature of white collar work in particular, it has been identified as one where professionals from culturally different backgrounds are disadvantaged (Willing 1992). Moreover, according to Millen, O'Grady and Porter (1992), immigrants are disproportionately unrepresented at the higher levels in the workplace. They argue that this situation is perpetuated because of the cumulative effect of interactions where misunderstandings occur as a result of different cultural expectations and communication styles. Good research-based training for all concerned could help overcome these difficulties and help more fully capitalise on the skills of immigrants for both the benefit of the individuals concerned and the nation.

The need for such training is becoming increasingly accepted, for both native and non-native speakers. For example, it is generally believed that multicultural teams are more innovative and productive than homogeneous teams because they avoid the limitations of 'groupthink'. Nevertheless, these positive results are only attainable if they have had training which alerts them to possible problems and misunderstandings (Adler 1991, Gudykunst 1991). Indeed, a number of researchers argue that the only way interpersonal communication skills across cultures can be improved is for people to know as much as possible about those they are communicating with (Scollon & Scollon 1995, Sarbough 1979, Smith 1987).

As suggested before, an approach which sees the need for all citizens, native born and immigrant, to learn how culture influences behaviours avoids the dangers implicit in an adaptation or assimilationist approach. Such an approach stresses cultural learning (Bochner 1982) or cross-cultural literacy (Luce & Smith 1987) and enables individuals to become aware of the salient points of their own cultural identity while at the same time realising that their way of doing things is just one among many possibilities. This type of awareness is obviously crucial in fostering harmony in a multicultural society. It also facilitates and enhances communication if, as well as providing knowledge, teachers encourage learners to practise the skills required for effective intercultural communication. Knowledge without skill is not socially useful but skills in turn require the cognitive ability to diagnose situational demands and constraints. ESL teachers can use this approach to truly empower their learners. They should familiarise themselves with the main findings of the literature on the subject of intercultural communication, in particular the useful frameworks outlined above and with the research done on the realities of such communication in the Australian workplace.

While the research done on this type of communication in the workplace in Australia has not been extensive, three valuable studies examining large corpuses of authentic, spontaneous communication have identified the problems and outlined the skills needed to overcome these. The earliest published research, Ken Willing's *Talking it Through: Clarification and Problem-solving in Professional Work* concentrated on identifying the interactive skills needed to deal with intercultural and pragmatic communication difficulties as they arise. Willing's aim was the development of cross-cultural awareness as well as the learning and teaching of these skills in a second language. To achieve this, he studied a corpus of tape-recordings of task-oriented interactions (mainly two-person) between white-collar professionals collaborating in the course of their daily work. Most of the interactions involved at least one participant whose native language was not English, but whose proficiency in English was of an intermediate to advanced level (Willing 1992). His study examined the strategies employed to interpret and resolve problems as well as the interactive devices of clarification and repair which are commonly used.

The next publication, Michael Clyne's *Inter-cultural Communication at Work: Cultural Values in Discourse* aimed to explore the role of verbal communication patterns in successful and unsuccessful communication and integrate and develop frameworks for a linguistics of intercultural communication incorporating cultural values systems (Clyne 1994). The main corpus of data Clyne drew on consisted of audio-tapes of typical spontaneous workplace communication, supplemented by video- and audio-tapes of formal meetings. The speakers were people who had migrated to Australia as adults and were using English as a lingua franca. Their first language was a language other than English or a 'New English' from Asia or the Pacific. The participants came from a range of cultural backgrounds, in particular from Asia and Europe, and represented a wide diversity of cultural communication patterns. They were working in different types of industries and work situations, mainly in factories in blue collar positions. In addition to examining the different ways in which particular speech acts, such as complaints, directives and apologies, were realised by the various groups and the misunderstandings which resulted, Clyne (as mentioned earlier) identified a number of communication styles and described three in detail. Although Clyne's data was collected in factories, the well-established fact that many immigrants are working in positions below their level of education and skills means that these findings have a general application. Clyne concludes that successful intercultural communication involves expressing oneself in as culturally neutral a way as possible and knowing which questions to ask.

The third piece of research was undertaken by Margaret Byrne who video-taped a large number of interactions in a wide range of organisations both in Australia and overseas in order to produce authentic materials for use in training videos. These involved both native and non-native speakers interacting at meetings ranging from those of self-managing teams on the factory floor to meetings of high level executives and managers. The video series, What Makes You Say That? Cultural Diversity at Work, was first broadcast on SBS Television in October and November 1996. It was then made available together with a handbook, written by Byrne and the present author, Helen FitzGerald. The handbook provides a brief outline of the main differences in cultural values and communication styles identified in the broad frameworks mentioned above and details ways in which the video sequences can be used for training. It also lists and discusses the skills needed for successful intercultural communication, distinguishing those required by both native and non-native speakers and those relevant for only one of these groups.

The findings of these researchers make clear the complicated nature of communication in multicultural workplaces and in international interactions. ESL teachers need to be aware of these findings so they can teach the knowledge and skills identified as vital for successful interaction in such work situations. This is necessary to prepare individual immigrants for success in the workplace, as well as to fully utilise their abilities and make diversity work for the nation.

This cultural knowledge and these skills can be taught as an integrated part of any ESL course, for example, as part of an Adult Migrant Education Orientation course. Materials, such as the video series 'Hello Australia', which deal explicitly with cultural differences provide useful additional material on such a course. Much of this knowledge and these skills can also be taught as part of job skills courses aimed specifically at preparing clients to participate successfully in the job selection process and the workforce. Alternatively, the knowledge and skills can form part of more culturally oriented courses. At present, the Department of Employment and Study is running a course on Australian Culture at the Canberra Institute of Technology. The course includes the content described in this article as well as providing classes on Australian history, multiculturalism, art, literature, films, politics, law and industrial relations. The course is for students with an ASLPRS of 2 or above in all skills and the aim is to learn more advanced language while learning about Australia. The course, which students choose to do in addition to their regular course, has been highly evaluated by those students who have completed it.

To conclude, what is needed both for achieving productive diversity in the workplace and cohesiveness as a nation is intercultural communication awareness, knowledge and skills training for both native and non-native speakers. Skills have been identified, some shared, some specific to native speakers or non-native speakers. It is important to teach and practise these skills in ESL classes. Many are similar to what is seen as good communication in the general textbooks, for example, feedback, repair and clarification. In addition, using the findings of Conversation Analysis and excerpts of native speaker interactions can help learners see the real nature of spontaneous talk among native speakers and show, for example, that they make errors and self correct and are not afraid to ask for clarification. Barraja-Rohan (1997) describes a new methodology to teach conversation based on the findings of Conversation Analysis together with aspects of pragmatics which is being encapsulated in a new coursebook. ESL teachers should be ready to use these new methodologies and be ready to act as cultural mediators, explaining both what they teach and the methods they use. In this way will truly empower their students and not unintentionally "do the devil's work.

References

Adler, N. (1991). *International dimensions of organisational behaviour.* Boston, PWS-Kent Publishing Company.

Bachman, L. (1990). *Fundamental considerations in language testing.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Barraja-Rohan, A. (1997). *Teaching conversation and sociocultural norms with conversation analysis.* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 14;71-88.

Baxter, J. (1983). *English for intercultural competence: an approach to intercultural training.* In A. Landis and R. Brislin (eds) *Handbook for Intercultural Training* Vol 2. New York, Pergamon Press.

Berry, J.W., Y.H. Poortinga, M.H. Segall and P.R. Dasen (1992). *Cross-cultural psychology: research and application.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Bochner, S. (ed) (1982). *Cultures in contact: studies in cross-cultural interaction.* Oxford & New York, Pergamon Press.

Bond, M.H. (1991). *Beyond the Chinese face: insights from psychology.* Hong Kong, Oxford University Press.

Byrne, M. and H.G. FitzGerald (1996). *What makes you say that? cultural diversity at work.* Sydney, SBS.

Clyne, M., M. Ball and D. Neil (1991). *Intercultural communication at work in Australia: complaints and apologies in turns.* Multilingua 10,3;251-273.

Canal, M. and M. Swain (1980). *Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing.* Applied Linguistics 1,1;1-47.

Chick, J (1985) *The interactional accomplishment of discrimination in South Africa Language and Society* 14;299-326.

Clyne, M. (1994). *Inter-cultural communication at work: cultural values in discourse.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Cowley, P. and B.E. Hanna (1997). *Is there a class in this room?* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 14;119-134.

Crozet, C. (1996). *Teaching verbal interaction and culture in the language classroom.* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 19,2;37-58.

Crozet, C. and A.J. Liddicoat (1997). *Teaching culture as an integrated part of language teaching: an introduction.* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 14;1-22.

Crozet, C. and A.J. Liddicoat (1999). *Turning promises into practices: the challenges of intercultural language teaching.* Australian Language Matters 7,1; 3-4,12.

Davison, C. (1998). *Aiming even higher – more effective accountability and intervention in ESL learning and teaching.* Australian Language Matters 6,4;5-7.

Erikson, F. and Shultz, J. (1982). *The counsellor as gatekeeper: social interaction in interviews.* New York, Academic Press.

Gudykunst, W. (1991). *Bridging differences: effective intergroup communication.* Newbury Park, Sage Publications.

Gudykunst, W., S. Ting-Toomey and E. Chua (1988). *Culture and interpersonal communication.* Newbury Park & London, Sage Publications.

Gumperz, J. (1982). *Discourse strategies: studies in interactional sociolinguistics.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Hall, E.T. (1976). *Beyond culture.* New York, Anchor Press Doubleday.

Hall, E.T. (1987). *Hidden differences.* New York, Anchor Press Doubleday.

Hofstede, G (1991). *Cultures and organisations: software of the mind.* London, McGraw Hill.

Irwin, H. (1996). *Communicating with Asia: understanding people and customs.* Sydney: Allen and Unwin.

Jarvis, P. (1987). *Adult learning in the social context.* Sydney, Croom Helm.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and culture in language teaching.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Liddicoat, A.J. (1997). *Everyday speech as culture: implications for language teaching.* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 14;55-70.

Little, G.D. and S.L. Sanders (1990) *Resistance to learning? Student reaction to communicative language teaching.* ERIC Document Reproduction Service No ED 319232.

Loveday, L. (1982). *The sociolinguistics of learning and using a non-native language.* Oxford & New York, Pergamon Press.

Luce, L. and E. Smith (ed) (1987). *Towards internationalism.* Cambridge, M A, Newbury House.

Mangubhai, F. (1997). *Primary socialisation and cultural factors in second language learning: wending our way through semi-chartered territory.* Australian Review of Applied Linguistics 14;23-54.

Mawer, G. (1992) *Developing new competencies for workplace education.* Prospect: a Journal of Australian TESOL 7,2;7-27.

Millen, M. C., C. O'Grady and J. Porter (1992). *Communicating in a multicultural workforce: pragmatics and a problem-centred approach to cross-cultural training.* Prospect: a Journal of Australian TESOL 7,2:46-56.

Neustupny, J. V. (1985). *Problems in Australian-Japanese contact situations.* In J. Pride (ed) *Cross-cultural encounters: communication and miscommunication.* Melbourne, River Seine Publications.

Pennycook, A. (1994). *The cultural politics of English as an international language.* London & New York, Longmans.

Rokeach, M. (1976). *Understanding human values: individual and societal.* New York, The Free Press.

Sarbaugh, L. E. (1979). *Intercultural communication.* New Jersey, Hayden Book Company.

Scollon, R. and W. Scollon (1995). *Intercultural communication: a discourse approach.* Oxford, Blackwell.

Smith, L.E. (ed) (1987). *Discourse across cultures.* New York, Prentice Hall.

Sohn, H. (1983). *Intercultural communication in cognitive values: Americans and Koreans.* Language and Linguistics 9;93-136.

Tannen, D. (1984). *Conversational style: analysing talk among friends.* Norwood, New Jersey, Ablex.

Thomas, J. (1983). *Cross-cultural pragmatic failure.* Applied Linguistics 4,2; 92-112.

Trompenaars, F. (1993). *Riding the waves of culture: understanding cultural diversity in business.* London, The Economist Books.

Wierzbicka, A. (1991). *Cross-cultural pragmatics: the semantics of human interaction.* Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter.

Williams, A. (1995). TESOL and cultural incorporporation: are we doing the devil's work?' TESOL in Context, 5,1;21-24.

Willing, K. (1992). *Talking it through: clarification and problem solving in professional work.* Sydney: Macquarie University.

Chapter 10
Teaching Conversation for Intercultural Competence

Anne-Marie Barraja-Rohan

Introduction

Intercultural competence is necessary in a world becoming increasingly interrelated where distances and languages are defied as transport is readily available and English is becoming the lingua franca. As a nation of immigrants which is also providing education for a sizeable number of overseas students, Australia needs to train individuals who can easily respond to this globalised environment by developing an intercultural competence. Intercultural competence involves the acquisition of resources to deal with interlocutors of diverse ethnic backgrounds. As such it implies an awareness of cultural diversity and an ability to recognise and accept differences and manage them successfully (see also Crozet & Liddicoat 1999).

A starting place for this training to occur is in the English as a Second Language (ESL) classroom where students from a variety of ethnic backgrounds meet and interact over a period of time. The focus of the traditional ESL classroom in developing intercultural competence for non English speaking students has been to integrate them into mainstream Australia. Traditionally, teaching has aimed at making ESL students competent English speakers by acquiring sufficient linguistic knowledge – and incidentally English norms of interaction[1] – partly through teaching and partly through osmosis. However, what seems to have lacked to date in teaching and learning ESL is a detailed examination of spoken interaction in English as well as a cross-cultural approach whereby ESL students engage in an interactive process in which they formally explore 1) their own and each others' sociocultural backgrounds, and 2) how communication takes place. In this way, students acquire an awareness of their own mode of communication[2] which they can then compare with and contrast to that of English, as well as an appreciation of the sociocultural diversity of their classroom. In becoming socioculturally aware, ESL learners as well as ESL educators can develop an intercultural competence in their dealings with each other. A practical way of implementing this intercultural competence is through the teaching of conversation which entails examining how language and culture are intertwined and how conversationalists communicate.

The structure of this paper is as follows:

First, conversation is studied in order to understand how teaching it can contribute to developing intercultural competence. Second, the approach developed to teach conversational and communication skills to adult learners of English is explored followed by the examination of the qualities needed to acquire intercultural competence. Finally, the paper concludes by looking at the need for the reciprocity of intercultural competence.

1 – The role of conversation in developing intercultural competence

1.1 Conversation as communication and language

As expressed above, teaching conversation is one way of teaching intercultural competence since conversation is the most accessible and basic form of communication (Gardner 1994). However, teaching conversation involves more than just teaching English, it also involves teaching communication, language and culture. Indeed, conversation is also termed talk-in-interaction (Psathas 1995; Drew & Heritage 1992) and spoken or conversational interaction (Saville-Troike 1989) which implies that it is an interactional and dynamic phenomenon whereby the participants are involved in verbal and non verbal communication. The interactional and dynamic aspects of conversation have significant implications for language teaching as they presuppose that conversation is not just a linguistic phenomenon. Indeed, conversation is a social activity through which participants accomplish actions and build or cease relationships. Conversation is a complex human activity and this complexity needs to be not only acknowledged but also captured in language teaching so that intercultural competence can be acquired. To fathom its mechanisms and delve into its sociocultural dimension it is relevant to refer to conversational analytic research such as conversation analysis and politeness pragmatics.

Conversation analysis and politeness pragmatics offer different perspectives on spoken interaction which are complementary in terms of language teaching. Conversation analysis, which only investigates naturally occurring language, provides insight into how conversation is a socially organised activity. Its primary concern is 'with the study of the activities or doings of conversationalists and with the means whereby they achieve order and organisation' (Button & Lee 1987:2). So the findings of conversation analysis are relevant to second language teaching in that they reveal the following:

- Conversation is at the base of other forms of oral communication encapsulated as institutional talk.
- Conversation is orderly: all paralinguistic activities, perturbations, overlaps and pauses have a role to play and are not produced accidentally. For example, laughter can be used to diffuse a tense situation (see Jefferson 1984) and stuttering may preface a dispreferred response.

- Conversation is structurally organised: participants produce utterances that are organised in sequences. Participants are aware of the underlying structure of conversation as they can determine what is going on and can project future actions. For instance, in the pre-closing participants orient to ending the conversation.
- The type of actions that participants perform with their utterances and how those utterances are sequentially placed. For example, greeting is an action which is usually immediately followed by another greeting uttered by a different speaker. Utterances like greetings, thanking, making a request, apologising, etc. operate in pairs and are called adjacency pairs.
- Context is created by the participants through their actions and utterances so it is 'locally produced and transformable at any moment' (Heritage 1992: 19). Participants design their utterances in relation to the context in which they participate.

Conversation analysis is useful for teachers as it highlights the orderliness of conversation which gives them a structure to teach conversation, and helpful for learners as it unveils the mechanisms through which participants achieve that order.

Politeness pragmatics considers other aspects of conversation that are not usually taken into consideration by conversation analysis. Two of these aspects which are social context and social relations need to be made explicit to learners of English.

Communication between participants is guided by a politeness principle whose role is 'to maintain the social equilibrium and the friendly relations which enable us to assume that our interlocutors are being cooperative in the first place.' (Leech, 1983:82). Hence politeness regulates human intercourse so that exchanges are conducted smoothly without offending any party at talk, i.e. to preserve face and be accepted. How politeness is determined depends on a number of social and psychological factors that can be culture specific.

In conversation, participants use politeness strategies and these depend on a number of variables which involve the social context as well as the participants' beliefs, plan, and intention. As a result, language is shaped by both the participants and social context. This is where politeness pragmatics becomes relevant to second language teaching as it points out what these variables are, how participants assess a situation in terms of which politeness strategies to use and how politeness is mapped onto language. Hence politeness pragmatics reveals the roles that the following factors play in spoken interaction:

- Who the participants are – gender, age,
- Roles that participants take,
- Participants' relationships or social distance,
- Status or power,
- Weight of imposition,
- Setting in which the conversation takes place.

Applying the politeness principle suitably involves a complex decoding of the social context and a tacit understanding of the politeness strategies: directness versus indirectness. Politeness requires conversationalists to use appropriate registers and terms of address in order to maintain face. These represent intricate linguistic strategies for second language learners who, not only need to understand the conventions used but also the intention conveyed behind the message; whether it is deference, solidarity or a violation of the politeness principle.

In conclusion, both conversation analysis and politeness pragmatics reveal different aspects of how oral communication takes place: conversation analysis by highlighting the rules operating in conversation as well as the role of paralinguistic activities, and politeness pragmatics by identifying the politeness principle and revealing the impact of the social context in communicating a message.

1.2 Conversation reflects culture

Conversation is a universal phenomenon as it is universally practised and is constituted of universal features such as politeness, adjacency pairs, giving feedback and listening, turn-taking, pausing, opening and ending a conversation. However, the universality of conversation does not preclude its culture specific aspect as the features listed above are utilised in different ways across languages. It is precisely at this junction that conversation becomes imbued with culture for it is situated at a crossroad where both the linguistic realisation and cultural constituent meet. As such conversation can also be a cultural act (Kramsch 1993). An illustration of this phenomenon is the sociocultural norms of interaction which are interactional norms that embody culture. An example of a sociocultural norm is greeting, which although is used universally, is performed differently across languages. For instance, greeting in Vietnamese differs to greeting in English in that one does not ask 'how are you' as is the case in Australian English. Asking such a question presupposes that the interlocutor has some kind of health problem hence such a question is considering rude (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997). Greeting in Vietnamese involves a different question such as 'where are you going?' which sounds quite inappropriate as a form of greeting in English. Thus, in the Vietnamese case, the act of greeting is still performed but the message conveyed is accomplished differently because of the cultural environment.

Giving feedback, listening, turn-taking and pausing are interdependent conversational features that can also be performed distinctly in various cultures. Listening is usually done verbally through giving feedback using acknowledgment tokens such as *uh huh, mmhm, mm, yeah, oh* and non-verbally through facial expressions, gaze and head movements. The frequency of these acknowledgment tokens may differ from language to language and in Japanese, for example, they are generally used more frequently than in American English according to Enninger (1987), Maynard (1990) and White (1989). Non-verbal expression is partially culture specific and indicating listening through nodding the head is often a typical behaviour of the English-native listener. This behaviour is different for Indian listeners, for example, who instead of nodding the head, moves it from side to side in a circular movement. Therefore, in an intercultural exchange between an Anglo-Saxon and an Indian, the Anglo-Saxon may feel disconcerted by the Indian head movement, not knowing how to interpret it; whether it means acknowledgment, agreement or disagreement.

Pausing is related to turn-taking and its length may vary according to different cultures as reported by Enninger (1987). Pausing that occurs between change of speakers can be long or short and its duration can be determined culturally to some extent as well as individually as there are also individual variations in speaking styles within cultures. If the duration of pausing is different for each conversationalist involved in an interaction, the result may be insufficient speaking space for the conversationalist whose pausing time is greater. For instance, in the case of the Athabaskans reported by Scollon & Scollon (cited in Enninger 1987), interturn pauses are longer than in English. As a result, the English speaker takes his turn before the Athabaskan has time to speak and the latter cannot get a word in edgewise (p. 279).

Another aspect of where language and culture meet is in relation to how politeness is expressed. Brown and Levinson (1987) claim that this politeness principle is a universal phenomenon. However, it may be applied in different ways across cultures and what may be considered polite in one culture may not perceived as such in another culture. For instance, in Korean, polite modesty is required when one is asked about one's expert knowledge, which can be perceived as downplaying one's expertise and not supplying the right amount of information when interpreted according to American English norms (Tyler 1995). Politeness strategies therefore can be a source of confusion in cross-cultural encounters as they may engender divergent behavioural expectations.

1.3 Conversation to teach intercultural competence

Conversation is 'the predominant medium of interaction in the social world' (Heritage & Drew 1992:19) as it is used to form relationships, make sense of the world and communicate messages and ideas. Indeed, conversation 'functions to organise society itself' (Nofsinger 1991:2) and as such needs to be included in the curriculum for the teaching of English as a Second Language. ESL learners, whether they are migrants or overseas students, need to communicate orally and form relationships, whether it be for personal and work reasons. In other words, they need to function as a social entity in the second language community. To be able to achieve that, they need to acquire intercultural competence so they can converse effectively in English and understand how communication takes place in the wider community. Hence to be able to fully participate in interactions involving other nonnative speakers as well as native speakers, they need to:

- be familiar with the rules of conversation and conversational features (such as

adjacency pairs, giving feedback, listening, turn-taking, nonverbal communication, etc.),
- understand sociocultural norms of interaction in their second language and reflect on the sociocultural norms in their first language,
- perceive the underlying meaning of utterances,
- distinguish and use politeness in various contexts and with a wide range of interlocutors, and
- express themselves emotionally and intimately in English.

In sum, by acquiring conversational competence through explicit teaching of all the above in a cross-cultural setting (this point will be further elaborated), ESL learners will naturally acquire intercultural competence since language and culture are intertwined and 'culture is not learnt by osmosis [but] (it) requires an intellectual effort' (Crozet & Liddicoat 1999:3). In the light of the discussion, conversation appears as a powerful means to teach intercultural competence and the question about how to teach it is explored in the following section.

2 – Approach to teaching conversation as intercultural competence[3]

As practising conversation is deemed insufficient to acquire intercultural competence as mentioned previously, it is therefore necessary to deconstruct conversation and demonstrate the link between language and culture to ESL learners. To fully understand what conversation is all about, learners need to be shown how conversationalists construct and negotiate meaning through the rules they abide by or breach and resources they use. Consequently, conversation is presented in the classroom in a naturalistic fashion, i.e., by using unscripted videoed conversations to preserve the natural features of conversation which include:
- overlaps (simultaneous talk),
- perturbations (stuttering, click of the tongue, repetitions, fillers, repairs, hesitation markers)
- acknowledgment tokens, and
- paralinguistic activity (body language, intonation, sentence stress, etc.).

All these features have a distinct role to play in conversation as they reflect how a message is communicated by conveying the speaker's feelings and state of mind[4]. In utilising unscripted or naturally occurring conversations, it is then possible to show ESL learners how conversationalists interact, maintain face, what social strategies they employ and how spoken English is used. Indeed, Boxer and Pickering (1995:56) state that: 'It is only when spontaneous speech is captured in authentic data that we can begin to see the underlying social strategies of speech behaviour.' In the next sections, the functions of some conversational features are explored to explain how intercultural competence can be acquired.

2.1 Social Strategies

Social strategies are reflected in conversations that contain real life language (i.e. unscripted or authentic conversations). The function of social strategies is to produce phatic talk by seeking commonalities and building a rapport which can be achieved through small talk or indirect complaint. Informing explicitly learners about the social function of language is important as 'such activity is at the root of much of the negotiation of relationships that is inherent in making friends' according to Boxer and Pickering (1995:48) who also report that the social strategy of seeking commonalities is not discussed in a number of text books. That social strategies are generally not dealt with in text books reflects a lack of awareness and training amongst educators in the area of conversational competence. Linguistic acquisition has long been the focus of text books but it is insufficient. Indeed, the interactional aspect of language in use needs to be equally considered for learners to become effective L2 speakers and acquire intercultural competence. Omitting the social functions of language in teaching it is ignoring its most important role. To appreciate why and how language is used, learners need to answer questions such as:

> 'Why are participants having this conversation?' (interactional goal)
>
> 'Why do participants achieve in complaining?' (social strategy – indirect complaint)
>
> 'Why are participants talking about the weather?' (social strategy – small talk)
>
> (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997)

Moreover, Learners' attention needs to be drawn to the conversationalists' social roles and relationships and the impact that social factors have on language. For instance, a request may be made differently depending on the conversationalists' social distance. Consider the following excerpts which take place in a teaching institution:

Excerpt 1 (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997:121)

1. Leisl: Look I'm in class and I re [ally need[5]
2. John: [lucky you
3. Leisl: yeah lucky me um can you just- are you busy
4. (pause)
5. John: well not now. what can I do for you
6. Leisl: can you do me a favour I [needed to photocopy
7. John: [depends will it cost me anything
8. Leisl: no photocopy this page and this page
9. John: how many (...)

Excerpt 2 (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997:125)

1. Chris: Listen just a quick question um, with that that MA group um,
2. when do you see them next.
3. Barry: er Wednesday afternoon about one to two why
4. (pause)

5. Chris: I won't be able to make it to the the next cl- the next class
6. next day [so what
7. Barry: [mm mm
8. Chris: I'm just wondering whether you'd be able to give them an
9. assignment that I've been telling them about- about (...)

In the first excerpt, the language used in the request is direct as Leisl uses the imperative at line 8 after getting the go ahead from John (lines 5 & 7). In contrast, in the second request, the language is softened as Chris uses an indirect speech act, punctuated with a preface *'I'm just wondering whether'* and the conditional *'you'd be able to'* (lines 8-9). The relationship between Chris and Barry is obviously different as reflected by the use of language; they do not share the same degree of familiarity and closeness as Leisl and John. Although the language used for both requests varies, face is maintained in both cases. This indicates that politeness is operating in both requests but differently due to differing social factors. To be able to use language appropriately, learners need to assess the social context as well as identify the degrees of politeness and its mapping onto language (see Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997:67). By becoming aware of the social function of language and what this involves, learners are more apt at adjusting social and politeness strategies when communicating in a cross-cultural situation.

2.2 Sociocultural norms of interaction

Sociocultural norms of interaction are often reflected in adjacency pairs like greeting, thanking, making a request, inviting, apologising, complimenting, introducing, leave-taking, etc. In highlighting the sequential organisation of these adjacency pairs, the sociocultural norms can be identified. For instance, when making a request as in excerpts 1 and 2, a pre-request usually precedes the request. In the pre-request, the speaker wants to ascertain that the recipient is available and willing to perform some action for the speaker's benefit. In formulating the pre-request, the speaker protect his/her face by giving the option of opting out which means avoiding a straight refusal. In the pre-request, the recipient is aware that a request will follow and can indicate to the speaker whether he or she is willing or available to grant the request. Following is an example of a pre-request (performed by Leisl at lines 3 & 6) taken from excerpt 1, in which Leisl gives the context of the request at line 1:

Excerpt 1 (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997:121)

1. Leisl: Look I'm in class and I re [ally need
2. John: [lucky you
3. Leisl: yeah lucky me um can you just- are you busy
4. (pause)
5. John: well not now. what can I do for you
6. Leisl: can you do me a favour I [needed to photocopy
7. John: [depends will it cost me anything

By examining sociocultural norms such as this one, learners' attention is drawn to the conversationalists' behavioural code which helps explain how and why language is used in this fashion. Understanding the reasons for the conversationalists' behaviour enables learners to accept the differences more easily as they can make sense of the L2 'foreignness'. It is by comparing how sociocultural norms are performed in relation to their L1, that learners fully realise how language and culture are intertwined through questions such as:

> In your culture, do you make a pre-request before making a request? If you do, what do you say in your pre-request? (Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard 1997:66)

Through this cross-cultural approach, learners gain a better sense of self as they realise that others behave in a way that may be at odds with what learners' expect in their L1 culture for reasons that are mainly cultural and not personal.

To conclude, this approach encourages learners to explore conversational features in L2 and compare them to those of their L1 in order to gain a deeper understanding of language, communication and their cultural identity. Thus, equipped with this knowledge learners can acquire intercultural competence as they can assess more effectively the social context and use appropriate conversational, social and politeness strategies.

2.3 Acquiring Intercultural Competence

Intercultural competence requires one to be flexible and adapt to the interlocutor's cultural style to work out the most fitting conversational, social and politeness strategies, which are essential for effective communication. Adaptability is an essential human quality which can be encouraged in developing intercultural competence. In fact, in successful cross-cultural encounters, interlocutors are found to adjust to each other's style as reported by White (1989) in relation to backchannelling. Indeed, she found that Americans accommodated to the Japanese listening style. The importance of flexibility is further illustrated by the following excerpt in which a Thai male reformulates an invitation to a Thai female and a Swiss German female in order to have a successful outcome. In doing so, he changes his politeness strategy.

Excerpt 3 – Thai male – TM, Thai female – TF, Swiss German female – SG

1. TM: (clears throat) um by the way um uh next Saturday you want to go to the footy I mean the last match at the [CG?
2. SG: [mm,
(TM turning to TF)
3. TM: do you want to go?
4. (pause)
5. TF: (gazes away from speaker) maybe (smiles and realigns her gaze with speaker)

6. TM: hm.
(TM to SG)
7. TM: if you have time we can go – we can go together next Saturday
8. SG: [oh yeah okay
9. TM: [in the afternoon tsk okay.
10.SG: it's okay.

In excerpt 3, at lines 1-2, TM first issues his invitation which is met with an unenthusiastic response from SG (line 3) and a dispreferred response from TF (line 6). However, in reformulating his invitation and changing tack from solidarity or positive politeness to deference or negative politeness at lines 8-9, he is more successful as at least one of the conversationalists, SG, accepts his invitation. This excerpt clearly illustrates that modifying one's politeness strategy has a positive effect on a cross-cultural exchange. Thus, a flexible approach to communication whereby conversationalists are able to reassess the situation and modify their behaviour accordingly is likely to bring about a successful outcome, which is an essential quality for the acquisition of intercultural competence.

Conclusion

Acquiring intercultural competence requires conversationalists to be able to recognise how communication takes place so that they can tacitly negotiate a mutually acceptable mode of communication. This can only be achieved in a climate of multiculturalism where diverse cultures are recognised and valued. Multiculturalism in the classroom takes the form of a cross-cultural approach which is indispensable in today's Australia, particularly if we want to adapt to a globalised environment where intercultural exchanges are becoming the norm. However, communication needs to be a two-way street whereby monolingual Australians also need to learn to communicate with overseas born residents and visitors, and not just the latter with the former which so far has been the norm in language teaching. Indeed, what is often asked of both overseas students and migrants is to adapt to the Australian norms of interaction. This paper proposes that both sides, the nonnative speaker and the native speaker, give and receive, i.e. enlighten each other of their native cultural mode of communication so they both acquire a deeper understanding of each other's cultural identity and way of communicating. Where ESL educators are native speakers of English and particularly monolingual[6], workshops would be helpful to raise their awareness of the issues discussed above so that their teaching would be enhanced and their intercultural competence further developed.

Endnotes

1. Norms of interaction have not usually been taught explicitly because ESL educators have not been trained to do so. Teaching sociocultural norms of interaction is a new phenomenon as educators are acquiring a better understanding of the complexities of spoken interaction through becoming more familiar with the research in this area.
2. Sociocultural norms of interaction are performed at the subconscious level and that is why one is not necessarily fully aware of one's mode of communication.
3. This approach is encapsulated in a course book, see Barraja-Rohan & Pritchard (1997).
4. Stuttering, fillers, hesitation markers, pauses can indicate a dispreferred response which may not have been made obvious synctactically.
5. [...] These square brackets indicate an overlap.
6. Through becoming multilingual, a speaker is more likely to have acquired some degree of intercultural competence, whereas a monolingual speaker who has less profound exposure to cultural diversity is less likely to have acquired this competence.

References

Barraja-Rohan, A.-M. and R. Pritchard. (1997). *Beyond Talk: a course in communication and conversation for intermediate adult learners of English.* Melbourne: Western Melbourne Institute of TAFE.

Boxer D. and L. Pickering (1995). *Problems in the presentation of speech acts in ELT materials: the case of complaints.* ELT Journal, 49/1:44-58.

Brown, P. and S Levinson (1987). *Politeness: some universal in language usage.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Crozet, C. & Liddicoat, A. J. (1999). *Turning promises into practices: the challenges of intercultural language teaching.* Australian Language Matters, vol7 no.1.

Drew, P. and J. Heritage (eds) (1992). *Talk at Work.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. (1992) *Analysing talk at work.* In P. Drew and J. Heritage (eds) Talk at Work. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Enninger, W. (1987). *What interactants do with non-talk across cultures.* In K. Kuapp, W. Minger and A. Kuapp-Pottoff (eds) *Analyzing Intercultural Communication.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 269-301.

Gardner, R. (1994). *Conversation analysis: Some thoughts on its applicability to applied linguistics.* In R. Gardner (ed.) *Spoken Interaction Studies in Australia, the Australian* Review of Applied Linguistics, Series S, 11: 97-118.

Kramsch, C., (1993). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford: OUP.

Leech, G. (1983). *Principles of Pragmatics.* London: Longman.

Maynard, S. K. (1990). *Conversation management in contrast: Listener response in Japanese and American English.* Journal of Pragmatics, 14: 397-412.

Nofsinger, R. E. (1991). *Everyday Conversation.* Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Psathas, G. (1995). *Conversation Analysis, the study of talk-in-interaction.* USA: Sage Publications.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). *The ethnography of speaking: an introduction.* 2nd edition. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, Ch. 4.

Tyler, A. (1995). *The co-construction of cross-cultural miscommunication: Conflicts in perception, negotiation, and enactment of participant roles and status.* Studies in Second Language Acquisition, 17, 2: 129-152.

White, S. (1989). *Backchannels across cultures: A study of Americans and Japanese.* Language in Society, 18: 59-76.

Chapter 11

Australian Perspectives on (inter)national European Narratives

Piera Carroli, Roger Hillman & Louise Maurer

Introduction

The course under discussion here was designed in response to a perceived need in language teaching to emphasise the place of literature and culture in a European context. It was also designed to respond to the changing situation in Europe. In the new Europe, as it is often referred to, national identities are increasingly integrated into a larger entity that promotes both (inter)national as well as national cultures. Multicultural Australia is perhaps in a unique position to assess these changes.

The course, piloted by the French, German and Italian Programs of the Department of Classical and Modern European Languages, tackles crosscultural issues with Comparative Literature perspectives starting from language-specific cultures and identities. In addition, the course goes beyond literary texts in approaching relevant films and artworks. Authors include Thomas Mann, Tournier and Calvino, as well as shorter texts on the Holocaust, and Wenders' film Wings of Desire. The cultural context of these writers and filmakers transgressed geographical borders and national mentalities thus continuing a long European intellectual tradition of intercultural relations and exchange.

This perspective is mirrored into the course design and was the driving force behind the pedagogical rational of the course. The outcome of such a design is a framework in which students and teachers of French, Italian and German approach literature and culture in a European context, from a European perspective.

Tutorials in the three languages examine reception of these works in each country, while in seminars the three language groups converge to compare culture-specific viewpoints and develop perspectives beyond particular national boundaries and artforms. With a third hour designated for lectures, this course structure cultivates broader insights into narrative, as well as more global assessments of European fascism, for instance, not confined to reflections in the literature of any one nation.

The further aspect of globalisation lies in the complexion of the participants: Australian students, some already with overseas experience, taught by two European-born and one Australian lecturer. This mix should provide an ideal insider/outsider perspective, one transferable to larger Language Departments.

The course retains the specificity of each language and culture, viewed in relation to each other as well as to the broader European context. It thus aims to foster critical thinking across cultures and real and metaphorical borders in order to encourage students towards a learning experience of the fabric of Europe.

1 – Background

Discussions about the development of advanced level 'Common courses' for all languages in the three areas of Literature/Arts, European Studies and Linguistics/Applied Linguistics began in our department, Classical and Modern European Languages (then only Modern European Languages), at the end of 1996. At the beginning of 1997 a committee was formed to investigate the pedagogical as well as administrative advantages of 'common courses'. The anticipated positive outcomes for students, staff and department provided the rationale for the implementation of the common option: common courses would secure the survival of advanced studies of a high academic standard in Modern European Languages by replacing relevant existing options in the Language Programs, or else existing language-specific options could be expanded into a common course. They would be more resource effective than existing options since the lecture and seminar would be attended by all Modern European Language (MEL) students enrolled. Only in the tutorial would students be divided up into individual MEL. The 'Common courses' structure, with one lecture in English, one seminar, and one tutorial in a Modern European Language would promote a European focus by adding a cross-cultural dimension to MEL course content, thus reflecting recent developments in Europe. An essential part of the process was the inclusion of students' input, especially at the preliminary stages. Students' responses to the questionnaire favoured optional as opposed to compulsory common courses for all students. A prototype for the common course in Contemporary European Narrative was sketched at the end of 1997 and offered for the first time in semester 1, 1999.[1]

2 – Course design and pedagogical approach

The common option Contemporary European Narrative: Literary and Visual has a distinctly European focus and approaches the topic(s) cross-culturally, from the perspective of the individual languages and cultures taught in CAMEL. It is therefore different from courses on similar topics offered in other Departments as will be explained later. It is team designed and taught. The structure of the course is as follows:

Structure: Contact hours:
1 Lecture (in English, all students combined)
1 Tutorial (parallel tutorials, in each of the MEL languages)
1 Seminar (Round table in English, all students combined) every fortnight

Content:	Topics covered by the three MEL areas: Literature/Arts
Assessment:	1 paper in English 1 paper in a language offered by MEL .

In the lectures intercultural links are built between texts, authors, literary trends and countries while in the tutorials students address texts in their target language and topics from a language and cultural-specific perspective. Finally, in the common seminars students present and discuss the results of their language and culture-specific studies, including their critical reception of the texts as well as reception of the same texts not confined to European countries.

The principal aims of the course design are that the students approach most texts in the specific language, that they make meaningful comparisons between different narrative genres and art forms, and that they develop an ability to think across cultures by contrasting and evaluating different points of view of specific cultures.

Although materials for the unit are overall in the written form, aimed at increasing MEL students' reading skills and at strengthening interest toward reading in the MEL, visual narratives, films, documentaries and paintings and music, were also included. Visual materials and music, as is acknowledged in recent texts on teaching and learning literature,[2] are a powerful and enriching source for the teachers who are more and more confronted with students influenced by a dominant visual culture.

The fundamental principle guiding the development of the model for the common option was the inseparability of literature, language and culture. To achieve this integration, approaches that diminish the literary text by using it as a peripheral tool in the teaching of other subject matter were rejected, as were traditional approaches stating the supremacy of literature over other art forms. If the communicative approach to literature teaching often trivialises literary texts by taking them out of their contexts and using them solely for grammatical and lexical purposes[3], the cultural studies approach[4] uses texts merely as examples of reactions to historical events or cultural trends and often the content of comparative literature approaches is foreign literature in English.

The traditional division between culture in the anthropological sense and culture in the classical sense, based on Cicero's concept of cultura animi (Balboni 1994, 120) or culture as a system of values distinct from its cultural or artistic artefacts, is invalid when literature, language and culture are understood as interacting within one system. As Kramsch states: 'literature has shaped the self-and other-perceptions of a people as much as have the events and experiences that gave birth to this literature' (Kramsch 1993: 175). From a reader response perspective it is actually readers who shape the text, at least as much as they are shaped by it (Tompkins 1980)[5]. So Kramsch's statement could be expanded since both writers and readers of literary texts engage in constructing the cultural imagination of a country, which, as Kramsch states, is'no less real' than the cultural reality of that same country (1993: 207).

The model developed by Kramsch, aimed at promoting an intercultural approach to teaching languages, is built on differences in the way learners of a foreign language and native speakers of that language perceive themselves and their culture and whether those perceptions are real or imaginary for the learners or the native speakers. She identified 'four different reflections of facts and events' (1993:207-8). In designing the course and selecting materials it was our objective to multiply Kramsch's model by three, arriving at a complex but extremely rich crosscultural context in which we would openly exchange, discuss and evaluate perceptions of French, German and Italian culture by Italian-born students and teacher, German-born Italian students, a French-born teacher, an Australian- born teacher of German, and Australian-born students of French, Italian and German of various ethnic descent.

The model adopted, and especially the seminar in which all students meet to discuss their perceptions and reactions to texts, and also to compare and contrast reception of the texts in the various European countries, greatly diminishes what Hasan defines as 'cultural distance' (1996: 34). If, as Hasan states in her paper, 'learning language is learning to be culturally distinct,' (35), learning language across literatures is perhaps learning to be inter-cultural by diminishing this 'cultural distance' which, as she states 'is always relative' (34). Cultural distinction and distance, represented by culture-specific perceptions of the culture, the texts, the students and the teachers, is the departure point for the discussion in the tutorials and especially in the seminars. The distance can be cultural in terms of different cultural values, or temporal cultural distance, or both, as often is the case[6]. It can be decreased through interaction, when the ethnic, cultural and educational background of students and lecturers of French, German and Italian is even more diverse than the content of the course, as will be explained later in the article.

3 – Course content

3.1 The shifting subject matter

With progressive stages of European unification, our pedagogic boundaries also need to change in approaching Europe of the 90s. Materials within language primers themselves are in flux. This is strongly reflected in new-look cultural contexts in a series such as Langenscheidt's Moment mal ! In chapter 2 of volume 1, the first city (beginning) students encounter is not Berlin or München, but the far less glamourous and familiar, and hence more probably typical, Essen. Prominent among the landmarks mentioned is 'die Alte Synagoge' with a condensed history of its vicissitudes. This alternative version of national history and geography flanks still greater space given in chapter 3 to a Swiss pop group 'The Young Gods'. Celtic harps reinforce the tendency towards world music, with a concessional quarter page on the different repertoire of Anne-Sophie Mutter. Europeanisation and globalisation are confusing enough for non-native teachers of German (and no doubt totally disorientating for former E.Germans, with their new national identity itself progressively submerged within a supranational entity). But Europeanisation and globalisation demand different perspectives on our teaching of language and culture, just as they bring different registers ('Mega cool!', 'Die Young Gods sind on the road' as examples from Moment mal!), vocabulary, and in the case of German even different rules for spelling and punctuation, within the target language itself.

3.2 The Syllabus

The scope of this option is nothing if not ambitious: 'Contemporary Narrative: literary and visual. A rephrasing might see it as an attempt to approach major European narrative texts and, at the same time, give some coverage of European reactions in the arts to crucial events of the 20th century. To illustrate the range of artforms: the opening week's lecture (by Dr Gino Moliterno) on Bertolucci's The Conformist focussed on issues of narrative, while in the final week of the course Wenders' Wings of Desire is programmed as an exemplar of the possibilities of storytelling, as theme and form, in film. Language issues in turn are crucial in this film, not least the incarnating angel's desire to experience (as cosmic 'parole' rather than 'langue'!) concepts such as 'time' or 'coffee'. The fourth lecture on Tournier includes work by Boltanski, Anselm Kiefer and Enzo Cucchi. There are a lot of similarities in the approach taken towards an imaginative rendering of the Holocaust between the German painter Anselm Kiefer and Tournier. Both make extensive use of other material and other texts. Tournier establishes connections between texts in the novel and other works of literature, while Kiefer links motifs in his own paintings with other paintings. Both work with myth and both deal with German cultural history. A group excursion to the National Gallery will showcase these artists, while a German student also studying music is to give a paper on musical settings of Goethe's Erlkönig, itself a key text in the prescribed French novel, Tournier's Le roi des Aulnes. The range of art forms in turn opens up the focus of narrative beyond literature, a necessity in an increasingly visual global culture. Via the target-language core it also adds a linguistic turn to the concern of narratology with the transfer of narratives across particular art forms.

On the literary/historical side, French and German texts engage the central 20th century historical event for the European consciousness, World War II and its aftermath. Early augurs of fascism in an Italian setting are examined in the German text Mario und der Zauberer, followed by a week on Holocaust literature, with texts by Peter Weiss (translated for this course) and Celan's famous poem Todesfuge. The mythology and potential aestheticisation of fascism are then examined in the Tournier text. Language students don't necessarily have more than a sketchy background to the history of either the Holocaust or even, more generally, World War II. The common option as conceived then points in the direction of more openly cultural studies-directed courses (based in departments like History), but with the major advantage of (some, at least) materials, primary and secondary, in the target language. This is also what distinguishes this course from all but the most utopian Comparative Literature Departments, and is again a function of the cultural backgrounds plus the insider/outsider perspective of teachers and students. Texts chosen all have a strong European dimension, with the exception of the more global concern with cultural patterns in Calvino. Mann was a truly European author in influence (not least on Tournier) as well as being a self-styled intellectual representative of Germany while in exile. His novella we studied features an unusual linguistic mix, with several Italian terms (and even, it would seem, a conscious Italian influence on his German – e.g. 'Meeresobst' for 'frutti di mare').

Linguistic issues, e.g. the capacity for recuperation of the German language after its Nazi tainting, are crucial in approaching an issue like the Holocaust. Adorno's famous dictum to the effect that after Auschwitz no poetry is possible raises questions of whether the Celan poem is an aestheticisation of the horror. This leads to the issue of 'fascinating fascism', on which score Tournier has been criticised (alongside leading European films of the late 60s through to the early 80s). It is very much a crosscultural issue on which linguistic insider perspectives are particularly valuable. The issue itself simply will not go away. Simultaneously with our course, newspaper items appeared about the involvement of major German finance giants such as the Deutsche Bank in the financing of Auschwitz, another announced: 'French railway sued for Holocaust crimes', and the arrest on German soil was reported of an Adelaide-based historian responsible for a Holocaust denial website. These are not issues, no longer relevant to this country, witness the legal wrangles over war crimes trials in Australia, and the Demidenko affair. The limits of representation debate raged in class simultaneously with Life is Beautiful being awarded an Oscar as the best foreign film for its different skew to the Holocaust, and with the prospect of intervention from above to thwart the release of the film Lolita. Are certain themes beyond (cinematic, at least) representation, are certain topics intrinsically taboo?

4 – From design to classroom

4.1 The teachers and their challenge

Piera (Italian) and Louise (French) were born in the countries whose language they represent, though neither is a recent arrival in Australia, while Roger is an Australian teacher of German. This sort of combination, a given in European Language Departments, but surely a rarity in any other, provides an ideal setting for a crosscultural course such as the common option. The 'insider' perspective in teaching a language needs no elaboration. An 'outsider' perspective, as a complement in Departments ideally combining both, can in turn be enriching, and an insider/outsider perspective within the one teacher must be invaluable. Whatever the current insistence that Australia belongs within Asia, Australian-born teachers know they have been raised in a land of primarily European cultural traditions. There have been major Australian contributions to Auslandsgermanistik (which might best be defined as a kind of intellectually postcolonial German Studies), with the Monash German Dept springing to mind. The healthy scepticism and lateral thinking enabled by such a position, above all on questions of nationalism, lend themselves well to the common option model. For the filtering of a single European nation's culture can readily be blended with a more European perspective, operating from such a base. Surely this is an imperative required of us as teachers. Via the common option model, Departments can legitimately profile themselves as the cultural arm of the relatively new discipline of European Studies. And language study need not suffer, however much it might need new directions. Euro-speak must synthesise, not eclipse, French-, German- and Italian-speak.

4.2 The students

The complexion of this class, both students and teachers, is worth registering. There are 15 students enrolled, and beyond the 6 taking the unit as part of their German major, one of the Italian-students is German-born. The German students, all Australian-born, have all spent time in a German-speaking country, a bonus impossible to predict before the finalisation of enrolments. Within the German, French and Italian Programs 'common' options may not exceed in number those held exclusively in the target language. Only two students of Italian were born in Australia, one of Ukrainian parents; one student has arrived recently from Poland; another student was born in Italy and migrated to Australia after the second World War, another student was born in Germany, and one student is Italian-born with an Australian mother and Italian father; most students have visited Italy, some have spent long periods there and travel regularly between Australia and Europe.

The course under discussion here is the first such offering in this Department: a second, in the area of translation, is to be held in second semester. Clearly the syllabuses of common options can range well beyond the intellectual borders of language-specific options and give a real sense of European culture, while the common linguistic thread remains the target culture.

4.3 Class situation

In seminars, intermixed groups were formed, ensuring target language students were dispersed, to discuss tutorial topics set down for each week and generally compare notes from different target language perspectives. This worked well alongside a plenary segment of the seminar. The (no doubt unattainable) ideal would of course be staff and students all having at least a reading command of all languages involved. Originally we had planned the participation of a Russian colleague as well, whose linguistic range would have best approached this goal, but A.N.U. restructuring overtook this notion. Liz Rechniewski has indicated (1995: 75ff.) that more and more Asian students are taking European languages at Sydney University, and presumably at other larger centres. This possibility, going beyond our experience at the A.N.U., must still further broaden perspectives on issues such as World War II, balancing innate Eurocentric tendencies in the discussion above.

5 – Outcomes

5.1 Linguistic and socio-cultural competences

Zarate and Byram's work in the field of socio-cultural competence in language aims to establish concrete markers for the evaluation of knowledge of a sociocultural nature. One way of identifying whether such knowledge has been acquired would be, they argue, to measure the transformation of attitudes, of initial representations of the foreign country in the learner. According to them, what characterises such a competence is the ability to recognise and interpret what constitutes socially distinctive variations between cultures, but also within the foreign culture.

These principles underlay the compiling for the course of a reading brick which contains for each of the languages a series of articles published in the country of the target language about the reception of the foreign writer, in a diverse range of journals, newspapers and books. Our choice was guided by the prominence of such material in each of the respective fields of publication.

Within the limits due to the amount of material selected the students can read, the students enrolled in our course are given ample opportunities to become aware of the diversity and specificity of responses to a writer's work not only in one country through the critical texts they have to read about an individual author, but also by having to report on their readings to the other two language groups of students.

By reading material ranging from a one page review in a weekly newspaper to scholarly articles and extracts of books on the authors, the students become aware that a specific focus of attention can be identified within each culture and related to the type of publication, but also that these are not necessarily the same across national borders. For example, most German critics of Tournier's novel focus on ideological issues, whereas the French critics tend to favour topics on structure, myth and the place of child, man and woman in the novel, while Italian critics focus on symbolism and myth.

It can be argued that a reader unaware of how Michel Tournier ties together divergent textual strands with wordplay is unable to understand what constitutes the novel. Such a reader, unwilling or unable to engage with such a crucial aspect of the work, may not be in a position to make an informed judgement about it.

It has proved necessary with a group of students reading texts in different languages to pay close attention to key words in the original text, and compare their translation in the other languages. The Italian translation of Le Roi des Aulnes is very well annotated and the footnotes include comments on the difficulty of translating some of the words as well as explanations of a cultural nature[7].

The English edition[8] by contrast was found wanting on more than one count. In the first two lines of the novel, it fails to reproduce the capital letter on one of the words 'ogre', thus overlooking the distinction established by Tournier between the 'Ogre', representing the link between the main character and all the fabulous creatures of myth and legends in the novel, and the 'ogre' as simply the man-eating giant. Failing to pick up the distinction can rob the main character of a dimension central to Tournier's text, which is that of the relation existing between myth and history.

5.2 Competence in reading images/installations

Although the core material of the course comprises literary texts, the inclusion of visual material requires specific consideration. The focus of the course on narrative justifies crossing the borders between artforms. However, in the same way as it is possible to ignore the specificity of the languages by relying on a thematic analysis of works from different countries, the danger of calling on another art form simply to illustrate the points made while analysing the literary texts is very real. The widely held belief that looking at still images – whether they be paintings, computer prints, photos or part of an installation – requires no specific ability, should be challenged if images are to take their place in such a course. Ruqaiya Hasan claims that 'in the domain of literature study to privilege the understanding of meaning divorced from any understanding of how linguistic forms construes meaning is as ludicrous as the idea that all native speakers can be teachers of their language, simply because they can speak it'[9]. This applies equally to the understanding of how an image, or an installation of which an image is a part in Boltanski's case, signifies.

To understand how an artist like Boltanski deals with the Holocaust and contrast it with Kiefer's work is to foreground such particularities as the building chosen, the size of the rooms in which the work is exhibited, the position in the room, the specific configuration of the altar pieces with the position of the lights, the colour, size and frame of the photographs, whether these are enlarged and to what effects, in order to infer all the associations that form a specific language before one can relate it to another.

The relevance of this approach to a close analysis of literary texts when more than one artform is present, should be clear. It is thus possible to give the students additional, contextual perspectives on the subject and diversify their understanding of how works in various artforms signify if they are to determine which interpretations might be valid.

Conclusion

With all the material in the course, it is necessary to engage with the particularities of the works to avoid remaining at the level of generalities while discussing them (the hermeneutic circle). Perhaps the central place we as a team gave to the languages and to the work as the source of meaning in this course stemmed from a reaction to what seems to be a commonly held belief that European languages have little relevance or use outside of commercial purposes. The course as outlined combines elements of the literature and civilisation components of traditional courses, while insisting on the retention of target languages. However it opens these up to broader perspectives, both in terms of the artforms negotiated and the cultural scope (European rather than nationalist), which have become problematic both within our individual disciplines and within the new Europe.

Endnotes

1. The Contemporary European Narrative option was developed with the assistance of two ANU Faculties Teaching Development Grants awarded in 1997.
2. See for example Colombo 1996, chapter 10.
3. The limitations of such approaches has already been pointed out by Kramsch (1993), Shanahan (1997).
4. Balboni (1994) calls it per-verting the text!
5. See also the section on reader-response in foreign language teaching in M. Gilroy and B. Parkinson (1996, 215-216).
6. An Italian-born student who lived in Italy during Fascism with her testimony of her experience shed new light on the discussion about Mann's novella Mario and the Magician.
7. Tournier, Il Re degli ontani, Traduzione di Oreste del Buono (Gargzantani Editore s.p.a.: Milano, 1987).
8. Tournier, The Ogre, translated by Barba Grey (New York: Doubleday&Company, Inc., 1972).
9. Hasan, 'On teaching literature across cultural distances', in The Language-Culture Connection. [Singapore, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre, 1996, 58]

References

Balboni, P. E. (1994). *Didattica dell'italiano a stranieri.* Roma, Bonacci Editore.

Byram, M. & Zarate, G. (1998). *Définitions, objectifs et évaluation de la compétence socioculturelle.* Le Français dans Le Monde, Recherches et Applications, 70-96.

Colombo, A. (ed.) (1996). *La letteratura per unità didattiche: proposte e metodi per l'educazione letteraria.* Firenze, La Nuova Italia.

Gilroy, M. & B. Parkinson (1996). *State of the art: Teaching literature in a foreign language.* Language Teaching, 29, 213-225.

Hasan, R. (1996). *On teaching literature across cultural distances. In J.E. James (ed.) The Language-Culture Connection.* Singapore, SEAMEO Regional Language Centre.

Kramsch, C. (1993). *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Rechniewski, E. (1995). *French Studies in Australia: Developing a Cross-Cultural Approach.* In R.Wakely et al. (ed.), *Language Teaching and Learning in Higher Education: Issues and perspectives.* London : Centre for Information on Language Teaching and Research.

Shanahan, D. (1997). *Articulating the Relationship Between Language, Literature, and Culture: Toward a New Agenda for Foreign Language Teaching and Research.* The Modern Language Journal, 81, ii.

Tompkins, J. P. (1980). *An introduction to Reader-Response Criticism. In J.P. Tompkins (ed.) Reader-Response Criticism: From Formalism to Post-Structuralism.* Baltimore, John Hopkins University Press.

Tournier, M. (1987). *Il Re degli ontani, Traduzione di Oreste del Buono,* Gargzantani Editore s.p.a.: Milano.

Tournier, M. (1972). *The Ogre,* translated by Barba Grey, New York: Doubleday&Company, Inc.

Chapter 12

'Justification' – The Importance of Linguistic Action Patterns for the Success of Intercultural Communication

Winfried Thielmann

Introduction

In this paper I shall argue that the success of intercultural communication does not only depend on the 'correctness' of speech or the 'observation of discourse rules', but also on the knowledge of how the target society has put into linguistic routines and institutionalised the pursuit of social purposes. This means that – within a limited scope – I am not only attempting to identify problematic areas of intercultural communication, but also to trace these problems back to their roots which ultimately, I believe, do not lie in language, but in the interaction between society and extra-linguistic reality.

The material for my analysis stems from an intercultural area *per se:* introductions to academic texts, in this case English and German. Many scholars have drawn attention to the fact that even very closely related academic cultures, such as the English and the German one, show remarkable differences in their discourse structure – differences which lead to mutual difficulties in the exchange and acceptance of scientific ideas.[1] This is an intricate situation. While the goal of all sciences is to increase human knowledge of reality, this goal is pursued in ways so different that, for instance, a German contribution written in English may be excluded from reception by an English-speaking audience because its introduction does not seem to reveal what it is about.

My analysis will therefore – after some preliminary reflections on the purpose of introductions – take the following steps: Firstly, I examine – from an English reader's perspective – an introduction to an article written in English by a German speaker. Secondly, I analyse – in the light of the findings of the first step – the introduction to an honours thesis written in German by an Australian student according to the institutional requirements of an Australian university. Thirdly, I discuss the observations made. Throughout the analysis I shall employ notions of German functional pragmatics, a linguistic discipline that systematically looks at how people pursue social purposes with linguistic means.

1. Methodological reflections

Throughout this article I shall employ the terms 'scientific' and 'science' in a sense including humanities and the social and natural sciences.

1.1. Problems of comparative linguistics of scientific discourse

Clyne's pioneering comparative studies of scientific discourse often include corpus-based frequency analyses, such as this example (1991, 54)[2], which compares the frequency of advance organisers[3] in texts by English and German scholars:

	English Speaking	***German Speaking***
Yes	65%	15%
No	35%	89%
At or near start	59%	42%
Later in text	41%	58%

From these different distributions of a wide range of 'discourse features' conclusions are drawn with regard to the make-up of the 'academic culture'. Thus, on principle, from 'advance organisers make a text more readable' and 'they are less frequent in texts written by German scholars', it follows that

> Knowledge is idealised in the German tradition. Thus, texts are written to transmit knowledge, and the onus is on the reader to make the effort to benefit from this knowledge. German texts can afford to be less easy to read.
>
> (Clyne 1991, 65)

The question remains: Are German scientific texts, on principle, hard to read for German scholars? I don't believe so. I rather believe that this kind of analysis – although extremely useful in obtaining a first insight – can very easily be affected by a methodological problem.

One can only compare things that have something in common, let's say different foods according to their vitamin C content. The vitamin C content is a quantifiable observable, to be measured in mgr per kilogram of the respective food. Advanced organisers, however, are not a quantifiable observable, but a conceptualised feature of discourse. While the frequency of their occurrence in texts of different languages is indicative of the discourse being organised in a different way, no other conclusions can be drawn until the *functionality* of advanced organisers within the respective discourse structure has been determined.

Otherwise, it would be possible to conclude from the fact that one language has more deictic devices than another that the language with more deictic devices is less advanced because people rely on 'pointing' to make themselves understood. This argument may be invalid, however, as the language with more deictic devices may employ them for something as advanced as a complex reference system for the organisation of texts.

I shall therefore employ a different approach by starting with an extra-linguistic property English and German scientific texts share. They are both contributions to human knowledge.

1.2. A pragmatic concept of 'doing science'

If we agree that science is an *institutionalised* procedure dedicated to the production of knowledge within society, Western tradition comprises at least four methodological epochs, as Ehlich (1995, 342f.)[4] points out: a pre-Hellenic stadium, characterised by the listing of knowledge; the Hellenic stadium during which knowledge was firstly produced through narration (myths) and then through rhetorical (Sophists) and reflecting procedures (Aristotle); the period of Scholasticism with its unique, authority-based procedure of *quaestio*; and, finally, the modern methodologies.[5]

Despite the methodological differences between the natural sciences and the arts, modern science can be characterised by two things:

- it questions instances of reality (Thielmann 1999)
- it is 'open', i.e. its scope is, on principle, unlimited.

These two things have an important implication for the nature of contributions toward modern science:

- contributions toward science are amongst the instances of reality put into question by science.

This implication is responsible for the *eristic* structure (Ehlich 1993, 29) of scientific texts: they are, on principle, part of a debate.

1.3. The purpose of introductions to scientific texts

From these preliminaries, it follows that introductions can be:

- institution-oriented, i.e. they link the scientific text to the institution of science and thus to a debate
- reader-oriented, i.e. they prepare the reader for the contribution to science that is to come.

1.4. The selection of the material

The point I intend to make is that – regardless of the writer's scholarly reputation and degree of mastery of the target language's structures and vocabulary – an institution-oriented introduction is likely to confuse a reader expecting a reader-oriented one, and vice versa.

Hence, even such texts become comparable that do not correspond to the matching procedures pertinent to corpus selection in discourse analysis (Clyne 1991, 49).

I shall now enter the analysis of an introduction written in English by a German-speaking scholar.

2. Observations on an introduction written in English by a German speaker

In this section, I shall demonstrate that the structure of a text-genre, such as 'introduction to a scientific text', can be understood as a purpose-driven system.

2.1. The text

The following example is an introduction to a linguistic article by Dieter Viehweger[6]. I have chosen this text, as it is symptomatic for the problems German scholars have with academic writing in English. While there is – with very few exceptions – definite mastery of the classical goals of language learning, such as grammatical and lexical correctness, the textual structure does not correspond to English expectations. I have segmented the text for the ease of further discussion.

> (1) Text production and text understanding are processes performed daily and repeatedly by everybody and which are again and again observed in human social interaction. From our communicative practice we know that, in the process of text production and text interpretation, we fall back on social experience gained in our process of socialisation. Text production and text reception, therefore, are rooted in the field of social conditions and the social and intersocial relationships in them. On the one hand, text production and text understanding themselves are cooperative activities, on the other hand they are the prerequisites to interaction in human society. Although these two processes are everyday routines, they evidently proceed automatically and become realised by us only when impaired in some way or other.
>
> (2) Both the linguistics and psychology of text processing have so far had little success in elucidating these complex phenomena which are largely inaccessible to direct observation and are described in terms of a stringent theory. However, since the mid-70ies, an interdisciplinary research approach has emerged in the borderland between text linguistics and cognitive psychology which, under the name 'psycholinguistics of text processing' (see Rickheit und Strohner 1985), integrates both text-oriented and practice-related investigations in the attempt to describe and explain text production and text understanding in the broadest sense.
>
> (3) In this context of research work the following discussion should be understood as well, which is at first meant to formulate a number of basic assumptions concerning the processes of text processing and then to outline, in exemplary manner, which knowledge systems are involved in the processes of text interpretation. Here particular attention will be paid to so-called lexical knowledge, its organisation and manifestation in text structures. Also, in this context, those dimensions of insight will be allowed for that cover the interpretation of technical texts.

2.2. Justification – textual structure as a result of the pursuit of institutional purposes

The introduction quoted above has three sections:

Section (1) gives a general account of text production and text reception as complex social activities.

Section (2) is a brief characterisation of the development of research on the phenomena of text production and text understanding with special emphases on the *incompleteness* of this research.

Section (3) links the content of the article to a particular school of research characterised in section (2) and outlines, in very general terms, the main topics the article is going to cover.

From an English perspective, the most striking features of this introduction are, I believe, Section (1) and Section (2), as they do not comply with the norms of English introduction writing. I shall ask, in accordance with the methodological reflections of (1.): which are the purposes the author pursued when he structured his introduction in this way?

As stated in (1.2.), science is an *institutionalised* procedure dedicated to the production of knowledge. Science is an institution of society, and it is society whom science ultimately serves. A scientific article can therefore be understood as a complex *speech action* (Ehlich & Rehbein 1979) put into writing, which serves the purpose of contributing knowledge to science as well as to society. If an introduction to a scientific article is institution-oriented (see 1.3.), its purpose may very well be to *justify* (Germ.: *begründen*) the complex speech action of the article.

I shall now demonstrate that the structure of the introduction above is indeed consistent with the institution-specific application of the *linguistic action pattern* of *justification* (Germ.: *Begründung*)[7].This linguistic action pattern is a social routine through which the speaker repairs a problem of understanding on the listener's part in order to avoid discontinuation of proceedings (Ehlich & Rehbein 1986, 97; translation W.T.):

(a) S has committed action C;
(b) S knows through a signal of non-understanding from L that L does not understand C;
(c1) S knows
    (1) that L will either assume a positive attitude A' or a negative attitude A towards C
    (2) that a negative attitude A of L towards C comprises the impairment or even the discontinuation of S's and L's system of actions;
    (3) that a positive attitude A of L towards C comprises the continuation of S's and L's system of actions;
(c2) S wants the continuation of S's and L's system of actions;

(d) (b), (c1) and (c2) result in S facing the practical necessity to make L change the alternative (A' or A) to A'

(e) S looks for an element D of which he/she believes that it has the power to make L change the alternative (A' or A) to A'

(f) S utters D[8] (S = speaker; L = listener)

In texts this linguistic action pattern is modified: texts are linguistic units devoid of interaction (Ehlich 1982, 1991). The writer anticipates a non-understanding on the reader's part and integrates his repair into the written monologue (Redder 1990, 83f.).

My point is therefore that Section (1) and (2) in the introduction above are complex realisations of the linguistic action pattern of *justification*. The action justified by them *is the complex speech action of the article itself:*

Section (1) *justifies* scientific interest in the topic by outlining its complexity and social relevance.

Section (2) *justifies* the putting forward of the article by outlining the deficiency of research on this topic – thus linking it to a debate (see 1.2.)

In other words, the social relevance of the topic justifies research whose deficiency justifies the article.

I shall now briefly discuss these findings.

2.3. Discussion

The introduction above, written in English by a German speaker, is a single incident. Thus it is possible, on principle, that the author used the two complex justifications authentically, i.e. he really assumed a non-understanding on the reader's part. However, should quantitative research establish the structure of this introduction as 'typically German', this would have some quite interesting consequences:

- The German text-genre 'introduction to a scientific text' is a purpose driven system. It is institution-oriented, i.e. it explicitly links a contribution towards science to the institution of science and to society. This goal is achieved by the systematic employment of the linguistic action pattern of *justification*.[9]
- This text-genre is the very embodiment of the knowledge that science is an institution of society and that debate is the essence of the advance of the institution of science.
- By writing to the requirements of this genre, i.e. by applying a *standard solution* (Ehlich & Rehbein 1986, 11), the German scientist reproduces this institutional knowledge unconsciously. This institutional knowledge has therefore the status of latent knowledge about a specific form of social life, a knowledge essential for the reproduction of this specific form of social life. Knowledge of this form is *ideological knowledge* (Ehlich & Rehbein 1986, 167).

3. A hybrid form – observations on an introduction written in German by an English speaker

I shall now contrast the findings of (2.) with the analysis of some aspects of the introduction to an honours thesis written in German by an English speaker according to the institutional requirements of an Australian university.[10] I have chosen this example to illustrate how the application of English genre requirements – with obvious concessions to the German ones – could be received by a German academic reader. Like the first example, this text shows almost complete mastery of the structural and lexical features of the target language.

3.1. The text

As I am, in this article, concerned with linguistic features on a macro-scale, I shall provide my English translation of the material, segmented again for the ease of further discussion[11]:

1 Writing about *Heimat* is a sensitive task. *Heimat* is a concept which – historically and culturally – has been interpreted differently and has been – in different ways – ideologised, trivialised and stylised. Some people believe that *Heimat* requires idealisation; scientists, authors, politicians and sociologists have been partaking in debates concerned with an explanation of *Heimat,* and there are many definitions which are rather instrumental in complicating the issue than explaining it.

1 a In this thesis, I shall only provide some historic explanations.

2 In a simple respect, *Heimat* can be derived from the word *Heim*. Applegate (1990) argued that Heimat is to do with so many different discussions and definitions within the German society that it would be a problem to propose a single explanation. As it is the case with all explanations of concepts, it is problematic to deal with them in the usual scientific way in the hope of finding a single truth. Nevertheless, the omnipresent notion of *Heimat* is again and again the main topic of many interpretations seeking a single explanation.

2a This thesis will not present the entire area of research into *Heimat*. It will present *Heimat* in the context of its association with motherland, nation, state and identity. In this context I shall discuss such fundamental notions as the word *oikos* in ancient Greek, Tönnies' notions of society and community, and Durkheim's concept of society. Topic of this thesis is not only the concept of *Heimat* alone, but also the question of what constitutes *Heimatgefühl*. The aim is, in this context, to find an explanation of *Heimatgefühl* through an analysis of the concept of *Heimat*. I shall argue that *Heimatgefühl* requires a holistic explanation.

3 An important thesis of modern ecologists is the integration of human beings

(and their experience) into the entire cosmic metabolism of our world.

3a This thesis refers to a *Weltanschauung* of this kind.

In order to put *Heimatgefühl* into the focus of this analysis, I shall structure my thesis in the following way.

[An outline of the content of the main chapters follows. W.T.]

3.2. A hybrid form leading to intercultural confusion

The following remarks are made under the assumption that the introduction by the German speaker quoted in (2.1.) was structured according to German genre-requirements.

If introduction (3.1.) is read by a German scholar, i.e. according to the expectations the German genre creates and corresponds to, a serious problem arises. While Sections (1), (2) and (3) will be read as *justifications that somehow correspond to German genre requirements, Sections (1a), (2a) and (3a) will be understood as the explicit speech actions these justifications apply to.* Thus, the thesis itself as a complex speech action is justified neither in its relation to society nor in its relation to the institution of science. Hence, the puzzled German scholar will ask the question: Why did the author write it?

Sections (1a), (2a) and (3a), however, are *advanced organisers.* They correspond to a reader oriented type of writing (1.3.). By including these advance organisers, the author of introduction (3.1.) clearly responded to the Australian university's institutional requirements when he took care to make his text 'readable', thus creating a hybrid form dysfunctional with regard to both English and German genre-requirements.

4. From 'pointing out differences' towards a deeper understanding of intercultural communication

4.1. Discussion of the findings

My analysis has, I believe, made three important methodological points concerning investigations of intercultural communication:

- Linguistic action patterns, such as *justification,* are complex social action routines for the processing of which speakers employ linguistic devices purposefully. The purpose driven system of a text genre may, within a society, be a *standard solution* within which such linguistic action patterns are employed as a routine. (An entire passage may be functional only with regard to a linguistic action pattern having its systematic place within the respective genre. As the text does not make these complex connections explicit, the intercultural reader has to know about them in order to achieve an understanding.)
- While differences in the 'discourse structure', i.e. differences perceptible on the linguistic surface, may be indicative of intercultural differences, cultural

inferences can therefore only be drawn after a functional-pragmatic analysis of the functionality of the respective linguistic devices. (The absence of advance organisers in the introduction of a scientific text written in a language other than English is not an indicator for lower readability *per se*, as advanced organisers may be *dysfunctional* with regard to specific, purpose-driven genre requirements.)

- *After* such analysis, conclusions can be quantitatively verified. (A corpus-based study can be very useful in determining, if a functionally understood solution of a complex linguistic task, i.e. writing an introduction, has the rank of a *standard solution* within the target society.)

4.2. Perspectives for intercultural hermeneutics and language teaching

It is time, I believe, to rethink methodologies applied in intercultural communication and language teaching. The linguistic surface of discourse should be understood as a realisation of the pursuit of social purposes. Thus, the analysis of language in general should not just 'add a pragmatic dimension'[12], but take the fact seriously that language is a social action form and that its shape is determined by how a society has put into linguistic routines and institutionalised the pursuit of social purposes.

This does not only apply to discourse structure, but also to concepts (Kuenkamp 1995) and categories, such as time and space, the 'god-givenness' of which may very well be the result of modern Western thinking habits (Thielmann 1999).

Apart from more pragmatically and hermeneutically-oriented studies of linguistic phenomena, such as Meyer (1997, on hedging) or Becker (1995, on problems of translation), we also need language teaching methods that go beyond the usual goals of correctness and 'cultural background'.

Below the original German text of the introduction quoted under (3.1.):

Heimat, Heimatlosigkeit und das Heimatsgefühl

'Zur Problematik der Definition des Heimatsbegriffes und der Erörterung eines Gefühls der Bindung'

Die Aufgabe, sich über Heimat zu äußern, ist vorbelastet. Es handelt sich um einen Begriff, der geschichtlich als wohl auch kulturell unterschiedlich ideologisiert, verkitscht, stilisiert und verstanden worden ist. Manche halten Heimat für unbedingt verklärungsbedürftig; Wissenschaftler, Schriftsteller und Soziologen haben alle an Debatten über eine Heimatserklärung teilgenommen und es gibt viele Definitionen, die das ganze Thema eher komplizieren als erläutern. Ich werde mich in dieser Arbeit auf bestimmte geschichtliche Erklärungen beschränken.

In dem einfachen Sinne ist Heimat von dem Wort *'Heim'* herzuleiten. Applegate (1990) argumentierte, daß Heimat mit so vielen unterschiedlichen Diskussionen und Definitionen in der deutschen Gesellschaft zu tun hat, daß es ein Fehler wäre eine einzige Bedeutung vorzuschlagen. Es ist problematisch – wie bei allen

Konzepterklärungen – sich damit auf die übliche wissenschaftliche Art und Weise auseinanderzusetzen, um dadurch eine einzige Wahrheit für Heimat zu finden. Trotzdem ist dieser allgegenwärtige Begriff immer wieder Hauptthema vieler Interpretationen, die einen wesentlichen Ausdruck für Heimat suchen. Der ganze Umkreis der akademischen Forschung über Heimat wird nicht in dieser Arbeit dargestellt. In dieser Darstellung wird Heimat in einem Kontext präsentiert, indem der Begriff hauptsächlich mit Vaterland, Nation, Staat und Identität assoziiert wird. In diesem Zusammenhang setze ich mich mit fundamentalen Begriffen, wie dem ursprünglichen griechische Wort für Heim *'oikos'* , Gesellschaft und Gemeinschaft nach Tönnies, als wohl auch Durkheims Gesellschaftbegriff auseinander. Der Gegenstand dieser Arbeit ist aber nicht die Heimat selber, sondern, das, was ein Heimatsgefühl ausmacht. Das Ziel hier ist, durch eine Auseinandersetzung mit dem Heimatbegriff, eine Erklärung des Heimatsgefühls zu ermöglichen. Ich werde argumentieren, da§ ein Heimatsgefühl einer holistischen Erklärung bedarf. Eine Hauptdiskussion der heutigen ...kologen lautet, daß Menschen (dazu gehört menschliche Erfahrung) dem ganzen kosmischen Haushalt unserer Welt in ihrer Einheit angehören. Diese Erklärung bezieht sich auf eine solche Weltanschauung. Um die Analyse gezielt auf das Heimatgefühl zu richten, werde ich die folgenden Abschnitte untergliedern.

Endnotes

1. For an extensive discussion of different discourse features of English and German academic writing see Clyne (1987, 1991, 1993) and Clyne & Kreutz (1987). There is still disagreement with regard to the extent of such differences across the whole range of academic disciplines. While Clyne observes "that the natural and behavioural sciences have reached a consensus based on English discourse rules" (1991, 49), Ventola (1995, 369f.) points out some substantial problems German medical researchers have with the textual organisation of English abstracts.

2. Similar Clyne (1987, 1991, 1993) and Clyne & Kreutz (1987).

3. Brief announcements of what the author is intending to do or what a chapter or paragraph is going to be about.

4. For a more detailed account with a stronger focus on the formation of European scientific languages see Ehlich (1997).

5. These diachronic observations may also have their synchronic counterparts, such as the scholastic procedures of the traditional Islamic university.

6. Viehweger, D. (1991) "Lexical Knowledge and Text Interpretation", in Schröder H. (ed.) *Subject Oriented Texts. Languages for Special Purposes and Text Theory.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 254-266

7. German differentiates between *begründen* (=give the grounds for an action) and *rechtfertigen* (=give the ground for an action that affected the sphere of integrity of another agent). For the purpose of this article, *justify* should be read as 'give the grounds for an action'.

8. The utterance of D is, in everyday life, in many cases the only audible part of a *justification:*Imagine C='opening the window through S'; signal of non-understanding='puzzled face of L'; D="it is so hot in here"

9. This is a functional-pragmatic notion of text genre, in contrast to analyses that stick to the linguistic surface and then add a 'pragmatic dimension', such as Göpferich (1995).

10. I take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to Mr. Konrad Knerr for making his thesis *Heimat, Heimatlosigkeit und das Heimatsgefühl – 'Zur Problematik der Definition des Heimatsbegriffes und der Erörterung eines Gefühls der Bindung'* available to me for the purpose of linguistic analysis.

11. The original text is printed at the end of this article.

12. As, for instance, still the case with most of the contributions to Connolly (1997).

References

Becker, A.L. (ed.) (1995) *Beyond Translation. Essays toward a Modern Philology.* Michigan: The University of Michigan Press

Clyne, M. (1987). *Cultural differences in the organisation of academic texts.* In *Journal of Pragmatics* 11, 217-247.

Clyne, M. & Kreutz, H. (1987). *The Nature and Function of Disgression and Other Discourse Structure Phenomena.* In Academic German", in *Working Papers in Migrant and Intercultural Studies* 8, 1-22

Clyne, M. (1991) .The Sociocultural Dimension: The Dilemma of the German-speaking Scholar. In Schröder H. (ed.) *Subject-oriented Texts.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 49-68

Clyne, M. (1993). *Pragmatik, Textstruktur und kulturelle Werte.* In Schröder H. (ed.): *Fachtextpragmatik.* Tübingen: Narr, 3-18

Connolly, J. H. – Butler, C. S. – Gatward, R. A. – Vismans, R. M. (1997) (eds.): *Discourse and Pragmatics in Functional Grammar* (= Functional Grammar Series 18). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter

Ehlich (1982). *Deiktische und phorische Prozeduren beim literarischen Erzählen.* In Lämmert E. (ed.) *Erzählforschung. Ein Symposion.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 112-126

Ehlich, K. (1995). *Die Lehre der deutschen Wissenschaftssprache: sprachliche Strukturen, didaktische Desiderate.* In Kretzenbacher H. L. – Weinrich H. (eds.): *Linguistik der Wissenschaftssprache* (= Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Forschungsbericht 10). Berlin: de Gruyter, 325-352

Ehlich, K. (1997). *Internationale Wissenschaftskommunikation 2000fff. Eine Verlust- und eine Suchanzeige.* In Moelleken W. – Weber P. (eds.): *Neue Forschungsarbeiten zur Kontaktlinguistik* (=Plurilingua XIX). Bonn: Dümmler, 128-138

Ehlich, K. & Rehbein, J. (1979). *Sprachliche Handlungsmuster.* In Soeffner H. G. (ed.): *Interpretative Verfahren in den Sozial- und Textwissenschaften.* Stuttgart: Metzler, 243-274

Ehlich, K. & Rehbein, J. (1986). *Muster und Institution. Untersuchungen zur schulischen Kommunikation.* Tübingen: Narr

Göpferich, S. (1995). *Textsorten in Naturwissenschaften und Technik. Pragmatische Typologie – Kontrastierung – Translation.* Tübingen: Narr

Kuenkamp, A. (1995). *Psychoanalyse ohne Seele? Zur englischen †bersetzung der psychoanalytischen Terminologie Sigmund Freuds.* in in Kretzenbacher H. L. – Weinrich H. (eds.): *Linguistik der Wissenschaftssprache* (= Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Forschungsbericht 10). Berlin: de Gruyter, 121-154.

Meyer, P. G. (1997). *Hedging Strategies in Written Academic Discourse: Strengthening the Argument by Weakening the Claim¡i.* In Markkanen R. – Schröder H. (eds.): *Hedging and Discourse: Approaches to the Analysis of a Pragmatic Phenomenon in Academic Texts.* Berlin: de Gruyter, 21-41.

Redder, A. (1990). *Grammatiktheorie und sprachliches Handeln: >denn< und >da<.* Tubingen: Niemayer.

Thielmann, W. (1999). *Fachsprache der Physik – exemplarische Untersuchungen zur Funktionalität naturwissenschaftlicher Begrifflichkeit bei der Wissensgewinnung und -strukturierung im Rahmen der experimentellen Befragung von Natu* . Frankfurt/M: Lang.

Ventola, E. (1995). *Englisch als lingua franca der schriftlichen Wissenschaftskommunikation in Finnland und in Deutschland.* In Kretzenbacher H. L. – Weinrich H. (eds.): Linguistik der Wissenschaftssprache (= Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Forschungsbericht 10). Berlin: de Gruyter, 353-386.

Conclusion
Striving for the third place: Consequences and implications

Anthony J. Liddicoat, Chantal Crozet and Joseph Lo Bianco

The third place

We have argued in the introduction to this volume that intercultural language learning involves developing a third place between the native linguaculture and the target linguaculture, between self and other. The papers in this volume give us some insights into what is involved in such a view of language teaching and linguistic competence which have consequences for the ways language is conceived, taught and planned.

Intercultural language teaching moves beyond simple conceptions of language proficiency as becoming like the target language speakers. Language learning is not, in its ideal form, a process of assimilation, but rather a process of exploration. The native speaker norm is replaced with a bilingual norm as the desirable outcome of language teaching and learning.

Such a view also has implications for the ways in which we view learners. The learner can no longer be viewed as a defective native speaker, but rather must now been seen as a **user** of language drawing upon the resources available to him/her (cf Firth and Wagner 1997). The language learner uses his/her growing comprtency in the target language creatively in order to communicate. As such, language cannot be considered just to be a set of purely linguistic skills. Rather the language learner needs to move beyond what s/he perceives and to discover how s/he functions within cultural boundaries. This is core of the process of moving towards a bilingual norm.

It also needs to be acknowledged that the third place is not a fixed point which will be common to all learners, rather the nature of the third place is negotiated by each user as an intersection of the cultural perspectives of self and other. The third place is a dialogic encounter (Bakhtin 1981) between the self and knowledge and between the self and the other.

The learner has to make choices about what to hold and what to relinquish, what to adopt and what to let pass. Moreover, the third place is dynamic and is being renegotiated with every intercultural interaction and with every opportunity for new learning.

The third place can only be established as a validation of both self and other. Both the original and the evolving cultural identity of the learner need to be valued and included explicitly in the process. Also the target culture needs to be valued and included. The process is not one of competition between each pole, with one inevitably replacing the other, rather it is a continual negotiation between the poles, until learners find a comfortable position leading to a hybrid third place for themselves.

The concerns of language teaching expressed through this volume demonstrate some implications for the ways in which we view both language and, therefore, language teaching.

The conceptualisation of 'language'

The views of language inherent in an intercultural perspective have implications beyond language teaching. They represent a synthesis of views of language from a range of disciplines into a whole which transcends the disciplinary boundaries. Language learners are language users and language use is multiplex. The 'language' which language teachers teach must consider the complexity of language and move beyond traditional conceptualisations of language within linguistics.

Most importantly, language is reconceptualised a something beyond the linguistic code. The view that grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary are not the only knowledge language learners need as language users leads us to a view that language is more than code. Even seemingly monologic language behaviours like reading others' writing are deeply dialogic and interactive because reading suggests an interaction with a writer (albeit a displaced one), and when we write the imagined audience shapes our pitch, style and content in pervasive ways. The complexity of language is not recognised by adding new modules, such as pragmatics, discourse, etc., to the code, but rather by recognising that the linguistic code itself is situated practice as well as an artefact. Persisting in treating language solely as an artefact limits the viability of the learned language as communication and as experience.

If language is more than code, the language user is more than the idealised 'speaker-hearer' and language use is not located soley within the individual. Language is inherently interactional. Any utterance at any moment is constructed through the interaction of the speaker and the hearer and attends to changes in speaker and/or hearer (cf Goodwin 1979; Goodwin 1981). Moreover language in use is both shaped by context and shapes context (Heritage 1989). Each contribution grows out of what precedes and determines what proceeds from it.

The important recognition which grows from this is that culture is inherent in language. This is the idea that every time we say something we are performing a cultural act (Kramsch 1993). As such we cannot treat culture as an additional component to be taught with time allocated to 'culture' as if it too were an additional module tacked onto the code. Rather culture is inseparable from the code. Similarly, because language itself is variable and interactional we cannot see culture in language as static. Culture, is also variable and interactional. It is created by talk and creates talk. The relationship between language and culture is multifaceted. It may be better to conceive of **cultures** rather than culture in order to deal with culture as practice, culture as knowledge and culture as aesthetic.

Moving beyond culture as an addition to language to seeing it as integrated with language through practice leads necessarily to a re-evaluation of what kinds of language are important. Approaches to culture as knowledge or as aesthetic privilege the role of written language and formal registers in which knowledge and art are encoded. Culture as practice, restores an emphasis to spoken language and informal registers, where culture is enacted in the daily lives of language users. It is in conversational interaction that culture becomes immediate for the participants.

As such, language comes to be seen as a form of social action and as a purpose driven activity. This activity happens within a community of use which shapes the performance of language, even where the purposes are, at least superficially, the same. This case is made strongly by Thielmann's chapter, in which we see that, within a reasonably homogenous endeavour, such as scientific communication, cultural practice nonetheless affects language use. Different cultures have different ways of using language for similar purposes. Moreover, even within a single culture, different communities of practice may use the same language differently to achieve their purposes (Liddicoat 1997). For language learning, this means that learners, who are language users in a range of potential communities of practice, need access not only to the code, but also the conventions of use with such a community of practice.

The conceptualisation of context

Context has usually had very limited treatments in linguistics and in language teaching. Context is frequently limited to the linguistic context of a sentence or utterance, or to the physical context in which talk is produced. While conceptualisations of culture have moved beyond such narrow boundaries in some discussions, most notably through developments of Malinowski's (1923) notion of 'context of culture', these have had a limited impact on language teaching to date. The development of sociolinguistics has also given rise to an understanding of social context which reflects both considerations of class and social distance. The social context constrains the sorts of things we can say and also the ways in which we can say them. It can affect higher level aspects of communication such as topic, or lower level aspects such as pronoun choice. It is tied very closely to notions of politeness, and interacts strongly with the cultural context.

A view of language and culture which views the link between the two as situated practice, emerging from and creating context, forces a wider consideration of what counts as context. The papers in this book, indicate that relevant concepts of context can be very wide ranging. In addition to the forms of context noted above, we also need to consider the macro-contexts in which teaching and learning and language use occur.

Firstly, there is the political context which is characterised by the distribution of power. Power differentials between teacher and learner and between native linguaculture and target linguaculture affect the nature and goals of language learning and use. The political context is further affected by the goals and objectives of the political power which develops the policy framework in which teaching will occur in ways which directly impinge on the language classroom: for example, in the form of assessment scales, curriculum documents and funding decisions.

The political context is tied closely with the economic context which can be considered as the goals and needs for languages within various market settings; some of national development and others of advanced economies; all influenced by galloping globalisation. Economic context impacts strongly on policy, motivation for learning languages, choice of individual languages to be learned and status relations among languages in multilingual contexts.

Thirdly, there is the ethnic context which relates to the identity issues involved in language. Language is a powerful symbol of identity and the ways in which identities are tied to language can either advance or impede language learning, depending on the symbolic role languages play in the ethnic identities of both the learner and the target language community.

Alongside these we can see context operating in language teaching and use at a micro-level, most notably in the interaction between participants. It is this interactional context, which is constantly being renewed, which impacts most strongly on interpretation. It is through interaction that understanding is accomplished and displayed by the participants (Goodwin and Duranti 1992). Moreover, it is through interaction that other forms of context are mediated and drawn into play.

Language teaching, therefore, becomes a nexus for a range of contextual issues all of which impact on learning and use of the target language. The necessities of teaching lead us inevitably to an awareness of the complex interactions of contextual variables on our actions.

Implications for language teaching

Once language is conceptualised as more than the linguistic code and the relationship between language and culture is seen as synthetic and organic, implications for the ways in which the enterprise of language teaching is conceived emerge. Essentially, language teaching cannot be limited to teaching the code, viewed as an objective, isolated artefact, but must inherently bring with it practice and values which are integrated and subjective. The added 'load' that language carries can have different impacts, which depend in the main on how the language being taught is conceptualised.

Fitzgerald has argued that access to language in an intercultural perspective is empowering. It is access to the additional load which language carries, not access to the code itself which empowers learners. Empowerment comes through understanding language as practice and understanding the cultural context in which the practice is manifested. As such, teaching which empowers is teaching which is aware of the additional load language bears, which integrates it into curriculum and which makes it available for the learner. It is also teaching which recognises that the first language is similarly loaded and which respects and validates the practices which learners bring to the learning of the second language.

Conversely, language teaching can be disempowering and can become a form of linguistic and cultural imperialism. Teaching language teaches the additional load which language carries, whether this is acknowledged or not and where this load becomes normative, language teaching can become a colonising activity. A conceptualisation of language as just the linguistic code and of teaching as the simple transmission of a code cannot be empowering in that if it fails to recognise the communities of practice in which learners are engaged and will engage. It fails to recognise that language is linked fundamentally to questions of identity and as such fails to recognise or value the already strong cultural framings from which learners operate.

In intercultural language teaching, the teacher has responsibility to provide opportunities for students to develop their own intermediary place between their own culture and that of the target language community. The third place does not emerge inevitably from classroom language teaching. Whether or not students develop an intercultural perspective depends substantially on the choices which teachers make in their teaching. Teaching methods, curricula and materials can either promote or impede the development of the third place, by including or excluding opportunities to reflect on the cultures involved in language learning. The relationships between language and culture are complex, it is the responsibility of the teacher to help students make sense of the complexity and to situate themselves productively and critically amid the complexity.

Implications for language policy

An intercultural approach to language teaching is not simply a question of method located in the classroom. It is a view of the whole endeavour of language teaching. As such, there is a need for language policy makers to take up these issues in policy and curriculum documents. Policies can facilitate or constrain individual choices for both the learner and the teacher. Policy documents can support developing intercultural competence or they can direct attention away from it. Such documents are important as symbolic statements of what is valued in language teaching, and these symbols can promote or obscure certain goals and directions.

Recently language policy documents, especially those framed within the 'competency movement' have tended to develop a limited perspective of language competence and have tended to reduce language to atomistic sets of skills. This is often as true of descriptors for cultural competence as it is for grammatical competence. Such approaches do not lend themselves to view language holistically and do not encourage the reflection necessary for developing the third place.

One central problem which is affecting language education in many countries, especially those with a utilitarian orientation to education, is the idea that languages are expensive. For example, in Australia where recent government rhetoric about languages has been strongly focussed on instrumental economic goals, there has been a reluctance by the same governments to view languages funding as an investment rather than a cost. As such, the scope of language programs is restricted and the restriction is further increased by atomistic approaches to language competence. This subordinates humanistic goals to economistic goals. Nonetheless, the human goals inherent in an intercultural approach to language teaching are centrally important to the economic aims of globalisation.

There is a need for policy to respond to the broad needs to education in a global context which sees language, culture and literacy in a holistic and contextualised manner. There need to be explicit links at policy levels between social policy goals such as tolerance and intercultural awareness and educational goals of language learning and literacy development.

Concluding remarks

This volume examines the place of language education in developing intercultural competence from a number of different perspectives. The papers address the issue both from the broad perspectives of globalisation and multiculturalism to the more focussed perspectives of classroom approaches. Nonetheless, what all of the papers have in common is a recognition of the central link between language and culture and the important role that language education plays in developing intercultural objectives. In this discussion, language becomes central to many goals which have not been considered to be central for language teaching. Understanding the place of intercultural competence in language learning leads to a re-evaluation of both the importance of language education and the practices of language teaching. This re-evaluation has only just begun, but it marks a fundamental shift in the paradigm for language education in general and education as a whole.

References

Bakhtin, M. (1981) *The dialogic imagination.* Austin, University of Texas Press.

Firth, A. and J. Wagner (1997) *On discourse, communication and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research.* The Modern Language Journal 81,3: 285-300.

Goodwin, C. (1979) *The interactive construction of a sentence in natural conversation.* In G. Psathas. (Eds.) *Everyday Language: Studies in Ethnomethodology.* New York, Irvington.

Goodwin, C. (1981) *Conversational Organisation: Interactions between Speakers and Hearers.* New York, Academic.

Goodwin, C. And A. Duranti (1992) *Rethinking context: an introduction.* In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin (eds) *Rethinking context: Language as an interactive phenomenon.* Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Heritage, J. (1989) *Current developments in conversational analysis.* In D. Roger and P. Bull. (eds.) *Conversation: An interdisciplinary perspective.* Clevedon, Multilingual Matters.

Kramsch, C. (1993) *Context and Culture in Language Education.* Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Liddicoat, A. J. (1997) *Texts of the culture and texts of the discourse community.* In Z. Golebiowski and H. Borland. (eds.) *Academic Literacy Across Disciplines and Cultures.* Melbourne, Victoria University of Technology.

Malinowski, B. (1923) *The problem of meaning in primitive languages.* In C.K. Ogden and I.A. Richards. (eds.) *The Meaning of Meaning.* New York, Harcourt Brace and World.

Striving for The Third Place:
Intercultural Competence through Language Education

Edited by

Joseph Lo Bianco, Language Australia

Anthony J. Liddicoat, Australian National University

Chantal Crozet, Language Australia

Recently the issues of whether multilingualism is a necessary feature of multiculturalism, whether the teaching of language/culture contributes to inter-cultural harmony and what competencies are required for today's world have re-emerged in the current debates on multiculturalism, language education and globalisation.

This collection of 14 papers by key researchers and practitioners in the field addresses these issues from a wide range of perspectives. The papers are organised in two sections - Intercultural competence in context, and Intercultural competence in practice. There is a comprehensive introduction written by the editors which positions the issues in a succinct form as a way of defining the general framework against which the contributors to the book develop their individual argument for the promotion of intercultural competence through the teaching of language and languages.

191

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGES AND LITERACY INSTITUTE OF AUSTRALIA